HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Volume VIII Number 3/4 December 1984

Ukrainian Research Institute
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Publication of this issue has been subsidized by
Walter Denys, Jurij Lyczkowskyj, and Daria Pisecka,
benefactors of the Ukrainian Studies Fund, Inc.

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ISSN 0363-5570

Published by the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University,
Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Typography by the Computer Based Laboratory, Harvard University,
and Chiron, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Printed by Cushing-Malloy Lithographers, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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Byzantium and the Slavs*

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

To Cyril Mango

I

Throughout more than a thousand years of their history, the Byzantines viewed their state as heir to the Roman Empire, which pretended to encompass the whole civilized world. It followed that the Byzantine state, too, was a universal empire, claiming rule over the whole civilized world; that Byzantine emperors were by right world rulers; that the Byzantines were Romans; and that they were the most civilized people in the world. True, they had improved upon their Roman ancestors in that they were Christians; also, by the seventh century the Latin component had all but disappeared from their highbrow culture, which from then on was essentially Greek; but, like ancient Romans, the Byzantines felt entitled to pour scorn on those who did not share in the fruits of civilization, that is, on the barbarians. The best thing these barbarians could do was to abandon their bestial existence, and to enter—in some subordinate capacity of course—into the family of civilized peoples headed by the Byzantine emperor. The way to civilization led through Christianity, the only true ideology, of which the empire held the monopoly. For Christianity—to be more precise, Byzantine Christianity—meant civilization.

Throughout a millennium of propaganda, these simple tenets were driven home by means of court rhetoric—the journalism of the Middle Ages—of court ceremonies, of imperial pronouncements and documents, and of coinage. The Byzantine emperor claimed certain exclusive rights. Until the thirteenth century at least, he did not conclude equal treaties with foreign rulers; he only granted them privileges, insignia, or dignities. In correspondence with certain foreign states, he issued "orders," not letters. He claimed the exclusive right to strike gold coinage (other peoples'

* This essay is a reworking of a lecture written a number of years ago. Thus it has a number of layers. While the earliest of these layers owe a debt to the standard picture of Byzantium drawn by Franz Dölger and George Ostrogorski in their day, the later ones reflect my present views on the topic.

gold coins were at first imitations or counterfeits; only in the thirteenth century did the western ducate replace the bezant, for almost one thousand years the dollar of the Mediterranean world). As the Byzantines were not blind, they had to accommodate themselves to the existence of other states besides their own. To fit them into their system, they elaborated the concept of Hierarchy of Rulers and States that, taken all together, ideally encompassed the whole world. The emperor headed this hierarchy; he was surrounded by subordinates, who would stand in an ideal family relationship to him: the English ruler was only his friend; the Bulgarian, his son; the Rus' one, his nephew; Charlemagne was grudgingly granted the position of a brother. Or else these rulers would be given titles of varying importance: ruler, ruler with power, king, even emperor. But never—not until the fifteenth century, if at all—Emperor of the Romans.

By the ninth century, the following truths were held to be self-evident in the field of culture: the world was divided into Byzantines and barbarians, the latter including not only the Slavs—who occupied a low place on the list of barbaric nations—but also the Latins; as a city, the New Rome, that is, Constantinople, was superior to all others in art, culture, and size, and that included the Old Rome on the Tiber. God has chosen the Byzantine people to be a new Israel: the Gospels were written in Greek for the Greeks; in His foresight, God had even singled out the Ancient Greeks to cultivate the Arts and Sciences; and in Letters and Arts, the Byzantines were the Greeks' successors. "All the arts come from us," exclaimed a Byzantine diplomat during a polemical debate held at the Arab court in the fifties of the ninth century. A curious detail: this diplomat was none other than the future Apostle of the Slavs, Constantine-Cyril. Cyril's exclamation implied that Latin learning, too, was derived from the Greeks. The Greek language, the language of the Scriptures, of the church fathers, also of Plato and Demosthenes, was rich, broad, and subtle; the other tongues, notably the Slavic, had a barbaric ring to them; even the Latin language was poor and "narrow."

The Byzantines maintained these claims for almost as long as their state endured. Even towards the very end of the fourteenth century, when the empire was little more than the city of Constantinople in size, the Byzantine patriarch lectured the recalcitrant prince of Muscovy on the international order. The prince should remember—so the patriarch explained—that he was only a local

ruler, while the Byzantine emperor was the Emperor of the Romans, that is, of all Christians. The fact that the emperor's dominions were hard-pressed by the pagans was beside the point. The emperor enjoyed special prerogatives in the world and in the Church Universal. It therefore ill behooved the prince to have discontinued mentioning the name of the emperor during the liturgy.

By the end of the fourteenth century, such a claim was unrealistic, and, as is to be deduced from the Byzantine patriarch's closing complaint, it had been challenged by the Muscovite barbarian. But throughout more than half of Byzantine history, such claims worked. Why?

The first reason why they worked was that for a long time the claims were objectively true. In terms of the sixth century, Justinian, under whose early rule the large-scale Slavic invasions occurred in the Balkans, was a world emperor, that is, a ruler holding sway over the civilized world. In the east, his dominions extended beyond the upper Tigris River; they skirted the western slopes of the Caucasus. In the north, Byzantium's frontier ran across the Crimea, and along the Danube and the Alps. The empire had a foothold in Spain, it controlled the coast of North Africa and much of Egypt, it dominated today's Israel, Lebanon, and a great deal of Syria. Now let us skip half a millennium. In the time of Basil II (d. 1025), under whose reign the Rus' accepted Christianity, the situation was not much worse: it was even better in the east, where the frontier ran beyond Lake Van; for a stretch, it hugged the Euphrates. Antioch and Latakia were still in Byzantine hands; in the North, the Crimea was still crossed by the Byzantine frontier, and the Danube and the Sava were the frontier rivers—thus in this sector, too, Byzantium possessed as much as Justinian did. In the West, parts of southern Italy with the city of Bari were under Byzantine sway. In the ninth and tenth centuries, which were decisive for the Byzantinization of the Slavs, the empire's capital at Constantinople was, with the possible exception of Baghdad and Cairo, the most brilliant cultural center of the world as not only the Slavs, but also western Europe, knew it. Its patriarchs were Greek scholars and politicians. Its prelates read and commented upon Plato, Euclid, and even the objectionable Lucian; its emperors supervised large encyclopaedic enterprises; its sophisticated reading public clamored for, and obtained, reeditions of old simple Lives of Saints, which were now couched in a more refined and complicated style. The Great Palace of Constantinople,

covering an area of ca. 100,000 square meters, was still largely intact and functioning. The pomp of the court ceremonial and of the services at St. Sophia, then still the largest functioning building in the known world, was calculated to dazzle barbarian visitors, including Slavic princes or their emissaries. Byzantine political concepts influenced western mediaeval political thinking down to the twelfth century; the western symbols of rule—scepter, crown, orb, golden bull—owe a debt to Byzantium. The mosaics of Rome, of St. Mark in Venice (thirteenth century) and of Torcello near Venice (twelfth century), of the Norman churches in or near Palermo (twelfth century), are reflections of Byzantine art, and some of them were executed by Byzantine craftsmen.

The renascence of theological speculation in the High Middle Ages was stimulated by the imperial gift which arrived from Byzantium at the court of Louis the Pious in 827. The gift was a volume of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, in Greek, of course. This work, translated twice into Latin, the second time by Johannes Scotus Eriugena (d. 877), spurred subsequent western theological speculation. It is difficult to imagine a western church without an organ—yet, this instrument, too, arrived from Byzantium in 757 and 812. On the latter occasion, the Byzantines refused to leave the organ with the Westerners, who attempted to copy it in secret, but only later successfully reproduced it. The silk industry was introduced to the West in the middle of the twelfth century, as a result of a Norman raid on Central Greece—the Normans abducted Byzantine skilled laborers from Thebes and settled them in their dominions. Even the fork seems to be a rediscovery of Byzantine origin—an eleventh-century Greek-born dogissa introduced forks to Venice, to the great horror of a contemporary ecclesiastic. No wonder that the Slavs experienced the influence of Byzantium: the West, which could fall back upon refined Latin traditions, experienced it, too, long after Byzantium's political domination over parts of Italy had ceased. So much for the first reason—Byzantine claims worked because they were objectively valid.

The second reason why the Byzantine claims of superiority worked was that they were accepted as valid by the barbarians, whether western or Slavic, even after they had ceased to be objectively valid. The usurpation of Charlemagne occurred in 800. But he, the ruler of Rome, did not call himself emperor of the Romans—he knew that this title, and all that it implied, had been preempted by the Byzantines. It was not until 982 that the

titulature "Imperator Romanorum" appeared in the West. And it was only with Frederick I Barbarossa (second half of the twelfth century) that a logical consequence was drawn from this titulature by a western ruler. Since there could be only one Emperor of the Romans, the Byzantine emperor should not be called by this title—he was to be called only what in fact he had been for a long time: the *rex Graecorum.* But did Frederick reflect that the very concept that there should be only one emperor was a Byzantine heritage? The Slavs were much slower to be weaned from Byzantium and never drew a conclusion similar to that of Frederick. With them, emulation of Byzantium was always but another form of Byzantium's imitation. True, Symeon of Bulgaria in the early tenth century and Stephen Dušan of Serbia in the mid-fourteenth assumed the title of Emperor of the Bulgarians and Greeks or of the Serbians and Greeks, respectively. But they did not think of proclaiming a Slavic counterpart to the Western doctrine *Rex est Imperator in regno suo* and thus downgrading the Byzantine emperor. Rather, they dreamed of supplanting him by taking Constantinople and seating themselves on his throne; and the same fantasy occurs in one text produced in thirteenth-century Rus', *Slovo o pogibeli russkoj zemli.*

Short of supplanting the Byzantine emperor, many a Balkan ruler aimed at securing for himself the prerogatives of that emperor, or attempted to imitate imperial pomp and usage. Ways of doing this were varied. One instance was by having a patriarch of his own: in the ninth century, the newly converted Boris of Bulgaria wanted to have one; around 900, Symeon of Bulgaria succeeded in setting one up; so did Stephen Dušan of Serbia in the mid-fourteenth century, not without resistance on the part of Byzantium. Another instance was by striking gold coins: the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen II (d. 1241) managed to do it, but he appeared on his coins in the garb of a Byzantine emperor with Christ on the reverse; another, by having the court hierarchy bear Byzantine aulic titles: Stephen Dušan named sebastocrators and logothetes; yet another, by assuming the epithet "second Justinian" on the occasion of the proclamation of new laws; still another, by looking to Byzantium as a reservoir for prestigious marriages—between the thirteenth century and the fall of Bulgaria in 1393, we count eight Greek women among 21 Bulgarian tsarinas; another, by patterning one's own capital after Constantinople: Symeon of Bulgaria's Preslav copied the Imperial City, as, by the way, did Prince Jaroslav's Kiev in the 1030s.

In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muscovy, the attitude toward Byzantium and its patriarchate was less than friendly; but when the Muscovite bookmen began to formulate an indigenous state ideology, they drew heavily upon Byzantine sources, in particular upon a Mirror of Princes written in Greek for the emperor Justinian in the sixth century; and they called Moscow "the reigning city," a formula by which the Byzantines usually referred to Constantinople. In sum, throughout their Middle Ages, the Balkan and to a considerable extent the East Slavic ruling elites were beholden to the Byzantine model in the matter of political concepts.

The Byzantine cultural impact did not presuppose the existence of friendly relations between Byzantium and the Slavs. Sometimes it looked as if the more anti-Byzantine the Balkan Slavs—like the Normans of Sicily—were in their political aspirations, the more Byzantinized they became; they fought the enemy with the enemy's own weapons. What the Byzantine cultural impact did presuppose was the acceptance—both by the producers and the receivers of cultural values—of the Byzantine world view and civilization as superior to all others.

II

The Christianization and cultural Byzantinization of the Balkans was a pivotal event. It affected both the medieval and the post-medieval history of the Balkans and of eastern Europe; what is more, its effects are with us today. Whether the consequences of this event should be considered as beneficial or baneful is a matter of judgment that depends on the historian's own background and on the modern public's political views. It remains that the Christianization of the Balkans not only determined the cultural physiognomy of Serbia and Bulgaria, but also prepared and facilitated the subsequent Byzantinization of the East Slavs, an event which, along with the Tartar invasion, contributed to the estrangement of Rus' from the European West. In the light of the preceding remarks, however, the Byzantinization of the South and East Slavs should be viewed just as an especially successful and enduring case of Byzantium's impact upon its neighbors, whether in Europe or in the Near East.

It was an especially successful case on two counts. First, when we speak of those Balkan Slavs who experienced the strongest influence of the Byzantine culture, we mean Serbs and Bulgarians.

But we forget that these peoples formed the rear guard, as it were, of the Slavic populations that had penetrated into the territory of the empire. In the late sixth century, the Slavs attacked the outer defenses of Constantinople; around 600, they besieged Thessalonica. About the same time, they reached Epirus, Attica, and the Peloponnesus; by the middle of the eighth century, the whole of Greece—or, at least, of the Peloponnesus—"became slavicized," to use the expression of a text written under the auspices of a tenth-century Byzantine emperor. Slavic raiders reached Crete and other Greek islands. We do hear of Byzantine military campaigns aiming at the reconquest of the lands settled by the Slavs, but judging by the paucity of relevant references in our sources, it is wise to conclude that these campaigns were not too frequent. And what remained of those Slavs? About 1,200 place-names, many of them still existing; some Slavic pockets in the Peloponnesus, attested as late as the fifteenth century; about 275 Slavic words in the Greek language; perhaps a faint Slavic trace or two in Greek folklore. Nothing more. In matters of cultural impact, the ultimate in success is called complete assimilation. When it comes to mechanisms that facilitated this spectacular assimilation, we must keep in mind the role played by the upper strata of the Slavic society, for by the end of the ninth century the Slavs were already socially differentiated. In my opinion, it was this Slavic elite, as much as the Byzantine missionaries, that served as a conduit in the transmission of Byzantine culture to the Slavic population at large.

Second, Byzantium held more than its own in its competition with Rome over the religious allegiance of the Balkan Slavs. For historical reasons, which had some validity to them, the Church of Rome laid jurisdictional claims to the territory of ancient Illyricum, that is, roughly the area on which the Serbs, Croats, and some Bulgarians (Slavic and Turkic) had established themselves. Croatia and Dalmatia were the only Byzantine areas where western Christianity was victorious in the ninth century. The Serbs were first Christianized by Rome about 640; but only the second Christianization took permanent roots there. It occurred in the seventies of the ninth century and it was due to Byzantine missionaries, later aided by Bulgarians. For a while, the newly converted Bulgarian ruler Boris-Michael flirted with Pope Nicholas I; but in 870, the Bulgarians entered the Byzantine fold, and they have remained there ever since.

True, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia and Pannonia, which originally was staged from Byzantium, ended in failure shortly after 885, when Methodius's pupils were expelled and supplanted by the German clergy of Latin rite. But if this was a failure, it was a qualified one: the Moravian and Pannonian areas had never belonged to Byzantium.

Before its collapse, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission did forge the most powerful tool for indirect Byzantinization of all Orthodox Slavs: it created—or perfected—the Old Church Slavonic literary language. The Byzantinized Slavic liturgy did continue in Bohemia—granted, in a limited way—until the very end of the eleventh century; and the expelled pupils of Methodius found an excellent reception in late ninth-century Bulgaria and Macedonia, in centers like Preslav and Ohrid, from where they continued and deepened the work of Christianizing and Byzantinizing the Bulgarian and Macedonian Slavs. Occasional attempts on the part of the thirteenth-century Serbian and Bulgarian rulers to play Rome against Constantinople had no durable effects. True, both the Serbian Stephen the First-Crowned and the Bulgarian Kalojan, tsar of Bulgaria, obtained their royal crowns from the pope (1217 and 1204, respectively). But their churches, although autonomous, remained in communion with the Byzantine patriarchate in exile (1220 and 1235, respectively); they even remained under its suzerainty, in spite of the fact that at that time the Latin Crusaders resided in conquered Constantinople and the Byzantine empire was just a smallish principality of Asia Minor, fighting for its survival.

The loss of Moravia and Pannonia by the Byzantine mission was amply compensated for by a gain in another area which (except for the Crimea) had never been under the actual Byzantine government: I mean the territories inhabited, among others, by the East Slavs. There, too, the field was not uncontested, for Rome had sent its missionaries to Kiev in the middle of the tenth century. In addition, Byzantium had to struggle there with other religious influences, Islamic and Jewish. It emerged victorious: the ruler of Kiev adopted Christianity for himself and his people in 988/9, and the act was sealed by the prince's marriage with the Byzantine emperor's sister. In retrospect, the Christianization and concomitant Byzantinization of the East Slavs was the greatest success of the Byzantine cultural mission. Churches in Byzantine style still stand in Alaska, and in Fort Ross in California; this marks the

furthest eastward advance of Byzantine Christianity under the auspices of a predominantly East Slavic state.

The cultural Byzantinization of the Orthodox Slavs was also an especially enduring case of the Byzantine impact on Europe. Chronologically speaking, this Byzantinization, as opposed to complete assimilation, started with the ninth or tenth century, depending on the area, and it lasted long after the fall of the empire in 1453, down to the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century. Paradoxically enough, after 1453, new possibilities of expansion were opened to Byzantine culture, the culture of an empire that was no more.

Before 1453, the history of the relations between Byzantium and the Slavic churches and states was that of intermittently successful attempts to shake off the administrative tutelage of the Byzantines. Now, both the Balkan Slavs and the Byzantines were subjects of the Ottoman Empire; in the eyes of the Ottoman conquerors these peoples, all of them Christian, formed one entity, *Rum milleti*, that is, "Religious Community (or Nation) of the Romans"—a name coined in good Byzantine tradition. To the Ottomans, the patriarch of Constantinople was now the head (civilian and ecclesiastical) of all the Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

Although their circumstances were reduced, the patriarchs were in some areas of activity heirs to the Byzantine emperors, and the Greek church was a depository and continuator of many aspects of Byzantine culture. This culture had now the same, if not better, chances for radiation among the Balkan Slavs as before, because both the Greeks and the Slavs were now united within the same Ottoman territory.

The churches in the Balkans were administered from Constantinople, especially since the late seventeenth-century, when Phanariote Greeks had obtained great influence at the Sublime Porte. From that time on, native Greeks, rather than Hellenized Slavs, began to be installed as bishops. The historical Slavic Patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid were abolished in the second half of the eighteenth century (1766 and 1767, respectively). Dates marking the official independence of the Bulgarian and Serbian churches from Constantinople coincide roughly with the achievement of political independence by those countries. This rule of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, often unwisely exercised, created much bad blood between Greeks and Bulgarians in the nineteenth

century. By that time, the élite of the Balkans was looking to Vienna, Paris, and westernized St. Petersburg for inspiration. But down to the eighteenth century, Greek—that is, post-Byzantine—culture, largely represented by Greek or Hellenized churchmen, was the highest culture in the area.

Eastern Europe, too, very slowly moved away from Byzantium. The Tartar invasion of the 1240s first cut and then weakened contacts with the West, and brought about a falling back upon those forms of local cultural heritage that were in existence in the forties of the thirteenth century. This heritage had been mostly Byzantine; now, it was being preserved and elaborated upon, but not substantially enriched. The Ukraine and Belorussia were reopened to western influences somewhat earlier than other areas, as they gradually fell under the domination of Catholic Poland-Lithuania, especially from the fourteenth century on. But even there the union of Churches did not occur until some two hundred and fifty years later (I am referring to the Union of Brest in 1596), and it was only a limited success, even from the Catholic point of view.

In Moscow, the jurisdictional dependence on the Patriarchate of Constantinople continued until 1448. When the break came, it was motivated by the accusation that Byzantium was not Byzantine enough, that it had fallen away from the true faith by compromising with the Latins at the Council of Florence (1439), while the true Byzantine Orthodoxy was from now on to be preserved in Muscovy. The establishment of an independent patriarchate in Moscow had to wait until 1589. Its confirmation necessitated the assent of other patriarchs, but it was easily obtained from the impecunious Greeks. Western influences penetrating through the Ukraine were present in seventeenth-century Muscovy, but it was only Peter the First, ascending the throne as Tsar and Autocrat, Byzantine style, and leaving it in death as August Emperor, western fashion, who put an end to the Byzantine period in the history of the Russian cultural élite, but not in the history of the Russian lower classes.

III

The two main—but not the only—channels through which Byzantine influences entered the Orthodox Slavic world were church hierarchy, secular and monastic (both for a long time largely Greek, even in eastern Europe), and the respective princely courts. Thus, Byzantium was imitated, above all, in those aspects of culture

in which the church, the state, or the upper layers of the Slavic society were interested: script, literary language, both sacred and secular, literature, ecclesiastical and secular learning, art (both in its ecclesiastical and aulic variety), ruler cult, state ideology, law, and the sphere of gracious living. But the upper layers of medieval Orthodox Slavic society were less refined than their Byzantine counterparts. There was much in Byzantine culture which they did not yet need; on the other hand, there were many elementary things not exactly belonging to the exalted sphere that they had to learn. Thus while the most sophisticated products of Byzantine literature were never translated into medieval Slavic, the Bulgarian words for onions (*kromid*) and cabbage (*lahana*) and the Serbian expression for fried eggs (*tiganisana jaja*) have been taken over from Greek. Art is an exception, for there Byzantium gave the Slavs the best it had to offer. But art is not primarily an intellectual pursuit, and it can be appreciated even by newcomers to civilization; moreover, then as now, money could buy the best.

From the court and the episcopal residence, borrowed elements of Byzantine culture seeped down to the people. Also, pilgrims traveled to Constantinople and brought back with them both wondrous tales of the capital's splendor and objects of devotional art; monks moved to the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Rus' monasteries of Mount Athos and had Greek-Slavic conversation manuals composed for them (we know of one dating from the fifteenth century). In areas geographically closest to Byzantium, like Bulgaria, Byzantine direct domination, and later the post-Byzantine symbiosis under the Ottomans, brought close contacts on a popular level. Thus we have reflections of Byzantine influences in Slavic popular language and folklore: we know of at least 107 (perhaps as much as 245) proverbs that the Slavs borrowed directly from Greek. Eighty percent of these borrowings were preserved by South Slavs, twenty percent by East Slavs.

IV

The extent of Byzantine cultural impact upon the Orthodox Slavs can best be demonstrated by discussing two cases: that of literary language and that of literature. The Old Church Slavonic language was formed by two generations of Byzantine and Slavic missionaries in the second half of the ninth century and the very beginning of the tenth, originally as a vehicle for spreading the word of God in

Slavic. It was a tool with which to translate from the Greek. We do know of some original Slavic writings by the immediate pupils of Saints Cyril and Methodius, but the bulk of the literary activity of the Slavic Apostles and of their direct successors consisted in translations from Greek: excerpts from both Testaments (soon followed by the full translation of the Gospels), liturgical books, edifying sayings of the monks, codes of ecclesiastical and secular law. In late ninth- and early tenth-century Bulgaria, the situation was much the same. The most bulky literary products of John, the exarch of Bulgaria, were interpolated translations of St. Basil's *Hexaemeron* and of John of Damascus's *Fountain of Knowledge.* The Mirror of Princes by Agapetus (sixth century) was most probably translated into Old Bulgarian at this same early period, and thus became the very first secular work of Slavic literature. This meant that Old Church Slavonic had to struggle with the world of theological, philosophical and political concepts and other notions, as they were expressed in Hellenistic, early Byzantine, and middle Byzantine Greek. No wonder that Old Church Slavonic teems with simple, semantic, and phraseological calques, that is, word-formations and expressions closely patterned on Byzantine Greek. To a linguist, the results of that patterning often look un-Slavic, even if the Orthodox Slavs of today no longer react to the Byzantine calques in Old Church Slavonic as un-Slavic—a thousand years of familiarity took care of that. For instance, Slavic makes little use of composite words: Greek, especially late antique and Byzantine Greek, loves them; accordingly, Old Church Slavonic abounds in composites like *blagosloviti, bogonosьcь, bogorodica, samodrъžьcь,* to mention those words which have survived in several modern Slavic languages, including modern Russian. This slavish adherence to Byzantine templates can be explained in part by the character of the originals selected for translation: the words of these originals were sacred or of high political importance, be they the words of God, of a church father, of a saint's Life, or of an imperial charter. They had to be rendered with the greatest exactitude, even at the price of doing violence to the tendencies prevalent in early Slavic.

The calque character of Old Church Slavonic was not exclusively a bad trait. Greek, the model of Old Church Slavonic, was a very highly developed and supple language; and the more sophisticated Byzantine writers intended to imitate Demosthenes and Plato, even if in fact they often imitated the much later and more mannered imitators of these authors. In wrestling with the complicated

Greek, Old Church Slavonic acquired something of that language's quality and versatility. The impressive stylistic possibilities of modern literary Russian are due to the fact that much—some say roughly one-half—of its vocabulary is made up of Church Slavonic words, a feature that enables a Russian writer to play on two linguistic registers at will. Old Church Slavonic, with admixtures of respective vernaculars, remained the main literary vehicle for the Orthodox Slavs down to the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century, depending on the geographical area and the literary genre. This language was Slavic according to its sound, but largely Byzantine according to its word formations and even its content.

The lexical borrowings from Greek in the languages of the Orthodox Slavs are legion. There are about fourteen hundred of them in Bulgarian, about a thousand each in Serbian and Russian. Their distribution is most dense in the area of Christian terminology, such as ecclesiastical dignities, ceremonies and activities, buildings, names of liturgical texts and songs, and names of months. The language of law, court, administration, education, and the army also abounds in borrowings from Greek. In a less exalted sphere, Greek provided the Slavs with many piscatorial and nautical terms, as well as terms of commerce, coinage and measurement, agriculture and horticulture, and, finally, with terms pertaining to civilized living. Thus the words for basin (*harkoma*), floor (*patoma*, *patos*), cushion (*proskefal*), breakfast (*progim*), desert (*glikizmo*), pan (*tigan*), bench (*skamija*), fork (*pirun*), drug (*voitima*) are Greek in medieval Serbian or Bulgarian. Even some expressions for family relationships (*anepsej*, *bratovčed*), some prepositions (*kata*, as in *kata godina*), interjections (*elate*, originally an imperative), and morphological elements (the verbal suffix *-sati*) come from the Greek. Some other linguistic traits common to the Balkan peoples (Slavic and non-Slavic alike) are attributed by some to the impact of late (that is, in part Byzantine) Greek: I have in mind such phenomena as the lack of an infinitive, or forming the future with the Slavic equivalents of *θέλω ἵνα*.

When we speak of older Slavic literature, we think first of all of the creative effort of Slavic writers. Still, literature is not only what one creates, but also what one reads. When we are asked what was read, say, in an important Muscovite cultural center like the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery around the year 1500, we can give an answer, for we possess a catalogue of this monastery's library dating

from that time. The answer is revealing. Out of 212 books listed in the catalogue, some 90 have a liturgical character; most of the others are translations from Byzantine homiletic, hagiographic, and ascetic texts. Not only fourth-to-ninth-century Greek fathers of the church appear on the shelves of the library of Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery around 1500 (Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Basil, Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, John of the Ladder, Theodore of Studios), but also Byzantine writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Symeon the Younger, the Theologian), the eleventh (Nikon of the Black Mountain), and even the fourteenth (Gregory Palamas). A few of these translations are explicitly described as coming from the Balkans. Only two texts in the library are written by Kievan authors (Hilarion's *Slovo* and Cyril of Turov's *Sermons*). One more treats a Rus' subject of interest to Muscovy (the Life of Metropolitan Peter [d. 1328], by Metropolitan Cyprian). Only two of the texts, Josephus Flavius's *Jewish War* and *Barlaam and Joasaph*, are secular, and even these were considered recommended reading in one's pursuit of sacred learning. Needless to say, both of them are translations from the Greek.

V

What has been said about language and literature (and could have been as convincingly said about art and music) should have suggested to us that Byzantium thoroughly dominated the cultural horizon of the Orthodox Slavic elite in the Middle Ages; and we should remember that for some of these Slavs the Middle Ages lasted down to the eighteenth century. Such is the truth, even if it is not the whole truth. For in the matter of the transfer of cultural goods from one society to another, telling about what was transferred and through what channels it was transferred amounts to showing only one side of the coin. The other side of the coin would consist in telling what was selected for importation and what happened to the imports once they reached the receiving society—how they were understood (or misunderstood) and for what purposes they were used. This, however, is subject matter for another essay.

Whether the Byzantine impact on the Slavs was a good or a bad thing is for a Slavicist, not a Byzantinist, to decide. True, when Machiavelli was writing his *Prince* and composing his *Discoursi* on

Livy, Muscovite bookmen were still piecing together their political doctrines with some sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-century Byzantine material. But it was not Byzantium's fault that the Orthodox Slavs took so long to break its spell.

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The Slavonic Book of Esther: When, Where, and from What Language was it Translated?

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The Book of Esther found in Russian manuscripts early intrigued Russian philologists because its language differed from the routine Slavonic of the other biblical books found in the same manuscripts.[1] It did not fit the usual pattern of translations made by South Slavs from the traditional Greek (or, perhaps, Latin) before about A.D. 1000, allowing for minor subsequent adaptations to the East Slavic linguistic milieu. From the outset this *Esther* has given rise to conflicting opinions about not only the time and place of the translation, but also the language from which it was made. Aleksandr Vostokov declared in 1842 that *Esther* was translated from Hebrew in "Russia" at an early date ("v ves'ma davnee vremja"). Gorskij and Nevostruev held that it had been made somewhere near Poland, and linked it to the heretical "Judaizers" in northwest Russia (i.e., Belorussia) in the second half of the fifteenth century. They believed that the spelling of the names, which differs from both Greek and Latin usage in *Esther*, reflected Hebrew pronunciation. This thesis was espoused by Ivan Roždestvenskij in his 1885 analysis; he, too, held that much of the vocabulary and phraseology came from Russian regional dialects, not ordinary Church Slavonic, and supported the fifteenth-century dating.[2]

1 This essay is based on the authors' separate contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists, which were presented orally by Altbauer in Kiev on 9 September 1983 at the session entitled "Jazykovaja situacija v Kievskoj Rusi i vzaimootnošenie drevnerusskogo pis'mennogo jazyka s drugimi jazykami." We would like to thank Professor H. G. Lunt, who edited the text; he added, with our permission, some bracketed footnotes signed HGL.

2 A. X. Vostokov, *Opisanie ruskopisej Rumjancevskogo muzeuma* (St. Petersburg 1842), p. 35 (with reference to a sixteenth-century manuscript); A. V. Gorskij and K. I. Nevostruev, *Opisanie rukopisej Moskovskoj sinodal'noj biblioteki*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1855), pp. 53–57 (with reference to the 1499 Gennadij Bible and two sixteenth-century copies); I. Roždestvenskij, *Kniga Esfir' v tekstax evrejskom-masoretskom, grečeskom, drevnem latinskom i slavjanskom* (St. Petersburg, 1885), esp. pp. 194–204.

A. I. Sobolevskij in 1897 pointed out the existence of two manuscripts from about 1400, thus invalidating the Gorskij-Nevostruev dating. He asserted, on the basis of archaisms in morphology, syntax, and vocabulary, that the translation was made in pre-Mongol Rus'. Even more important, Sobolevskij adduced evidence he thought proved that not the Hebrew text, but a Greek translation of it was the basis for the extant Slavonic text. He boldly hypothesized a now lost Greek translation made from the Hebrew Masoretic text (MT). I. E. Evseev rejected out of hand the very notion that such a Greek text could have been available to a "Russo-Slavonic translator" in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and he reasserted that the translation must have been made directly from the MT into Slavonic.[3]

For several decades the matter rested, and whenever *Esther* was mentioned in textbooks and general surveys, scholars declared themselves for or against Sobolevskij without adducing arguments. It remained for N. A. Meščerskij to examine the evidence anew for his 1946 dissertation. He concluded that Sobolevskij's dating and location were correct, but that he was wrong about the original language.[4] Meščerskij's thesis that *Esther* was translated in Kievan Rus' by an East Slav working from the original Hebrew became the cornerstone of his theory that a school of translators from the Hebrew was active in eleventh-century Kiev, and that other texts known to us exclusively, or at least primarily, from East Slavic

[3] Evseev first dealt with *Esther* in a general article, "Zametki po drevne-slavjanskomu perevodu sv. pisanija," *Izvestija Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk* 8 (1898), pt. 2: "O knige Esfir'" (pp. 339–44). In 1902 he touched on *Esther* only obliquely in an analysis of a "zapadno-russkij" translation of Daniel ("Kniga proroka Daniila v perevode židovštvujuščix, po rukopisi XVI v.," *Čtenija OIDR*, 1902, bk. 3, pt. 2), noting that the Esther translation goes back "into the depths of literary history" (p. 131), and he printed (161–64) the text of the first chapter from a sixteenth-century copy, along with the "West Russian," i.e., Belorussian, version from Vilnius MS 262, which he correctly sees as a new translation ("xotja pri nesomnennom znakomstve s prežnim perevodom," p. 132; cf. fn. 14, below). He knew only a two-paragraph summary of Sobolevskij's 1897 lecture (*Arxeologičeskie izvestija i zametki*, 1897, no. 5/6, p. 204). Sobolevskij's essay, with a footnote rejoinder to Evseev 1898, appeared as an appendix to his more general work on translated literature in Muscovy during the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, *Perevodnaja literatura Moskovskoj Rusi* (= *Sbornik ORJaS* 74 [1903]), pp. 433–36.

[4] Meščerskij's major summation was published in 1956, "K voprosu ob izučenii perevodnoj pis'mennosti Kievskogo perioda," *Učenye zapiski Karelo-finskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 2, no. 1 (1955, Serija obščestvennyx nauk): 198–219. He includes a brief summary of earlier scholarship.

manuscripts were also translated directly from Hebrew.[5] His reliance on the text of Esther puts his whole theory, in our opinion, on too fragile a foundation. Is the Book of Esther so unambiguously translated (1) from Hebrew and (2) by a native East Slav that it provides a solid basis that permits us to hypothesize that some Kievan bookmen knew Hebrew well? We submit that Meščerskij's analysis does not sustain either claim.

Meščerskij (1956 204) lists eighteen manuscripts containing the Book of Esther: two from the late fourteenth century, seven from the fifteenth, seven from the sixteenth, and two from the seventeenth. He distinguishes three subgroups, the most important for our purposes being the one comprising the two oldest copies (Troice-Sergeevskij 2, Lenin Library, and Q I 2, Leningrad Public Library) and three others, all found in codices containing other "historical" biblical books. His very imperfect edition of Esther is based on MS 2, with variant readings from Q I 2 and three other manuscripts, two being from different subgroups.[6] Since all eighteen manuscripts, according to Meščerskij, share certain peculiarities, all must go back to a single copy, which can have been written no later than the mid-fourteenth century. Meščerskij, on the basis of a colophon in MS 2, argued that this copy existed in Vladimir'-Suzdal' in the 1190s, thus putting the date of translation at least a decade or two earlier.

For purposes of discussion, we may distinguish several possibilities. The usual pattern for books from the Hebrew Bible was Hebrew to Greek (H-G), then Greek to (Old Church) Slavonic (G-S) in the South Slavic region, then adaptation to Rusian usage. For *Esther*, two proposals have been made, either direct translation from Hebrew to Rusian or Russian (H-R: Vostokov et al.), or from

[5] Meščerskij argues this position in a 1956 article ("Otryvok iz knigi Iosippon v Povesti vremennyx let," *Palestinskij sbornik* 2:58–68), the introduction to his 1958 book, *Istorija ijudeiskoj vojny Iosifa Flavija v drevne-russkom perevode* (Moscow), esp. pp. 133–53 (compare Altbauer's review [in Hebrew], *Kirjath Sepher* 35 [1960]: 203–209), a 1964 article on the Slavonic Enoch ("Istorija teksta slavjanskoj knigi Enoxa," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 24:91–108) and his 1979 book, *Istočniki i sostav drevnej slavjano-russkoj perevodnoj pis'mennosti IX–XI vekov* (Leningrad).

[6] "Izdanie teksta drevnerusskogo perevoda Knigi Esfir'," *Dissertationes slavicae*, vol. 13, pp. 131–64 (in *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila Jozsef Nominatae* [Szeged, 1978]). We are fortunate in having access to a photocopy of MS 2, but otherwise we must perforce depend on details provided by Meščerskij and his predecessors. We have also consulted a photocopy of Vilnius MS 52, which is not mentioned by Meščerskij.

Greek to Rusian (G-R: Sobolevskij). We will argue that the Hebrew to Greek (H-G), and then Greek to Slavonic (G-S)—not Rusian—sequence is correct for *Esther* as well.

Meščerskij, like Evseev and their predecessors, puts fundamental emphasis on the textological correspondence between the MT and East Slavic *Esther*s as proof of the H-R thesis.[7] Roždestvenskij and Meščerskij, who provided the most detailed discussions, minimize any disparities they find between the MT and Slavic texts, explaining them away as reflections of difficulties East Slavic translators had in dealing with the Hebrew original.

Take, for example, Roždestvenskij's discussion of verse 1:3, *sŭtvori pirŭ velmožamŭ i rabomŭ svoimŭ silě farěsěistěi i maděistěi stranamŭ i boljaromŭ zemnymŭ* 'he made a feast unto [all][8] his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and the princes of the provinces'. Roždestvenskij first claims that the translator omitted the "difficult" word *ha-pirtemim*, but on the same page (198) he opines that since "it seemed to the translator" that a substantive was lacking for the adjectives *farěsěistěi i maděistěi* he added *stranamŭ* "for a clearer expression of the sense (*mysli*) of the Hebrew text." This seems to say that the translator first created a faulty sentence because he failed to understand the Hebrew, but then repaired the language by adding a word that did—somehow—correspond to the original sense. In fact, of course, the two adjectives go with *silě* 'power, army'; the problem is the inappropriate "sides, countries" for "nobles." We submit that the Greek to Slavonic (G-S) hypothesis solves this puzzle, while the H-R theory does not. A suitable Greek term would be σατράπαις. If we conjecture that the Slav merely took the Greek word over as *satrapamŭ*, a noun unattested elsewhere in early Slavic, it is easy to assume further that an inattentive copyist substituted the familiar (if unsuitable) *stranamŭ*.

7 [The Greek versions all contain six extensive additional passages not in the MT. The usual Septuagint (LXX) text is a paraphrased retelling of the story, rather than a translation. The so-called Lucian text is radically shortened in the parts represented by MT, and has other significant deviations. Despite all this, reference to these versions of the Esther story helps establish principles of translation techniques. HGL]

8 The word for "all" is in the Hebrew; its omission in the Slavonic is not discussed.

The translator's poor knowledge of Hebrew is blamed for the equivalence in 4:3 of *starěišinamŭ* with *le-rabbim* 'for many'. Roždestvenskij (200) and Meščerskij (1956 210–211) believe that he took *rabbim* as the plural of *rab* in the sense "great man"—*starěišina*. Our explanation is a Greek version with the expected πολλοῖς, which was misread by the translator—or, more likely, found by him in his model text as a result of a Greek copyist's error—as πολιοῖς; he chose to render it by *starěišinamŭ*.

Verse 3:7, *vŭverže vraždu i žrebii predŭ Amonomŭ* 'they cast *pur*, that is, the lot, before Haman'. Roždestvenskij (201–202) holds that this curious violation of the sense of the passage depended on the will of the translator: faced with the unknown word *pur*, he arbitrarily put in the known word "enmity." Why this particular word, we are not told. Yet if we start from the sense of the verse, which describes throwing dice or some other lot as a means of divining the most propitious date for Haman's campaign against the Jews, we are led to Russian *voroža* 'divination', attested as far back as Kiril of Turov and the Hamartolos Chronicle. With the help of Old Polish *wróża* and Slovene *vraža*, both meaning 'die, lot',[9] we reconstruct OCS **vraža* with the same meaning. This unfamiliar South Slavic word was then distorted by an unthinking or careless scribe for whom "ž" and "žd" were interchangeable in many words; we may term it a hypercorrection. This fits the hypothesis that the text is old, but not that it was Kievan. It has no probative value for either the H-S or the G-S theory.

The treatment of the names of the Hebrew months has provided material for considerable discussion. In 2:16 we find *vŭ m[ěsja]cĭ 10 glagoljuščii sja tevefŭ po židovĭskomu a po grečĭsku dekjabrĭ* 'in the 10th month, called Tebeth in Jewish and December in Greek'. In six more cases, a month-name is glossed with the normal Graeco-Slavic name, but without the specifications "in Jewish" and "in Greek."[10] Roždestvenskij (198) saw these glosses as simple clarifications of the Hebrew terms. Evseev (1898 342f.) attributed them to the general influence of Byzantine tradition on the Slavic *literati*. Sobolevskij (435) singled out the phrase *po grečĭsku* and implies that the glosses had to have been inserted by a Greek

[9] See Maks Fasmer, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1964), s.v. *vorožit'*.

[10] Thus 3:7 *Nisanŭ, glagoljuščij sja Aprel'*; 3:7, 13, 9:15 *Adarŭ, rekomyi Martŭ*; 8:9 *Sivanŭ, rekomyi Ijun'*.

translator and thus supported his G-R view. But Meščerskij declares these "additions" a "powerful proof" against the Greek theory, for "only a Russian could have made them, and they have nothing in common with a Greek text" (1956 208). The names are not Greek, he argues, but Roman. A Greek translator would not have considered them to be Greek, whereas a Russian would naturally know them as Greek since they arrived in Rus' from Byzantium. Moreover, in one instance the gloss clearly, in Meščerskij's view, was entered from the margin of an earlier Slavic copy; 9:17 *v denĭ 13 m[ěsja]ca Adara gověxu rekomogo Marta a počiša 14* 'on the 13th day of the month of Adar they fasted called March and they rested the 14th'. The fact that the gloss is separated from the Hebrew term by the verb, Meščerskij explains, proves that it was added from the margin, but in the wrong place.

The arguments are ill founded. The Roman names had become part of normal Byzantine Greek usage by the seventh century.[11] For our H-G hypothesis, it is immaterial whether they were added by the Greek translator at the time *Esther* was first translated, or by some subsequent copyist before the text reached our Slavic translator. Or else the glosses could have been added by a Slav either during the process of translation from Greek *or* from Hebrew or by a later copyist. The glosses are simply irrevelant for determining the original language used by the Slavic translator. Far more important is the light Meščerskij's discussion of 9:17 casts on his methodology, for the problem is not the gloss, but the intrusive verb *gověxu*, which has no equivalent in the Hebrew. We will not conjecture why it was added. We can only wonder just how closely Meščerskij examined the details of the texts.

Great importance has been attached to the proper names as a factor in determining the language from which *Esther* was translated into Slavic. Roždestvenskij (196), Evseev (1898 342), and Meščerskij (1956 208–209) all felt that the proper names were transcribed in a manner which not only faithfully rendered the MT but conserved as precisely as possible the phonetic features of the Hebrew. Thus, in Meščerskij's view, the name of King Ahasueros, *Axasŭverosŭ*, is in full conformity with the MT *Ahašweroš*, as opposed to the Greek tradition where the king is called *Artaxerxes* or *Assueros. Vasti*, the name of the king's first wife follows, to his mind, the

[11] Cf. A. J. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich, 1972), pp. 187–88.

Hebrew *Vašti*, unlike Αστιν of the Septuagint.[12] Meščerskij found it particularly interesting (209) that the Hebrew letter *šin* was consistently rendered by *s* in the early copies of our text, but replaced by *š* in later copies.[13] The fact that Hebrew *taw* was rendered by no fewer than five Slavic variants—*t, f, s, xv, xf*—can be explained, he says, by "peculiarities of living Hebrew pronunciation of that time."

We cannot accept these opinions of Roždestvenskij, Evseev, and particularly Meščerskij. Since no one disputes that this *Esther* corresponds textually to the Masoretic Hebrew and is unaffected by the LXX version, it is the Hebrew phonetic shape of the names that should command our attention.[14]

A striking characteristic of biblical names in European languages is the lack of the hushing *š*-sound, since both Greek and Latin had only the hissing *s*, e.g., *Susanna* for *Šošanna*. In the Slavonic *Esther* we find *s* for Hebrew *šin* in the king's name *Ahasŭverosŭ*, the city *Susan*, and eight other names where *š* occurs in the MT.[15] Greek writes *beta* for Hebrew *beth* and consonantal *waw*, thus providing

[12] Meščerskij for some reason appends a "soft sign" to this name (*Astin'*). [He does not mention the Greek variants Ουαστη or Ουασθειν. HGL]

[13] He gives only anecdotal examples, but his view that in the sixteenth century knowledge of Hebrew was more current and led to some correction in the spelling of names is probably correct. Indeed, we may venture that this type of correction could have occurred in the late fourteenth century. On similar questions in Polish, see Altbauer, "Dublety imion biblijnych v polszczyźnie," *Onomastica* 10 (1965): 196–203; "O technice przekładowej Szymona Budnego," in *Studia językoznawcze poświęcone St. Rospondowi*, ed. M. Adamus et al. (Wrocław, 1965), pp. 85–96.

[14] A comparison with the Jewish translation from Hebrew into Belorussian, preserved in the sixteenth-century Vilnius codex 262, brings out the differences clearly, even if one uses only the first chapter which was made available in 1902 by Evseev, cf. fn. 3, above. (The full text of the Scroll of Esther will soon appear in the first volume of Altbauer's edition of 262, to be published by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.) The very literalist translation of 262 offers a valuable contrast to our version in many respects, and we will refer to it frequently.

[15] The passage with the ninth case, concerning the two chamberlains Bigthan and Teresh (2:11), is corrupt, and the spelling of the names is unreliable: *Běxvanŭ i Vafesŭ*, with *Tereši* added in some later copies (cf. Roždestvenskij, p.295, fn. 1). The same two appear in 6:2 as *Vigŭxvana Vaverosa* in MS 2 (Meščerskij 1978 adds the conjunction *i*; he encloses these words between superscript numerals "83a" but gives no corresponding footnote. In 1956 205 he declares that in "all texts without exception" one finds "Na Vixmana i Averes" [!]). In principle, we expect that unfamiliar names may be distorted as a result of repeated copying. In *Esther*, we can establish the common older spelling in most cases, but full discussion must await an edition which will give all the evidence from all the appropriate copies—we cannot rely on the skimpy data provided by Meščerskij. Manuscript 262 regularly has *š* where it is appropriate.

the Slavs with a model pronunciation *v* that completely obliterates the Hebrew differences. In *Esther*, we find *v* as expected in five names for Hebrew *b* (e.g., *Avixailovy* 2:15 'Abihail's [poss. adj. Gsgf]').[16] Hebrew *taw*, as mentioned above, comes out as *t, f, xv, xf*, and *s*. The heroine in manuscript 2 is *Esfirĭ*, but it seems that Q I 2 and other copies use the letter *fita* in this name and a series of others. Again, Greek transliteration with *tau* in some cases and *theta* in others readily explains these spellings.[17] The emphatic sibilant *s* is spelled *s* as in LXX in *Navŭxonosorŭ* 'Nebuchadnezzar' 2:6.[18] Nothing in the spelling of names proves that the Slavic translator knew the Hebrew pronunciation. On the contrary, all details speak eloquently in favor of a Greek intermediary in which names were transcribed according to the rules followed in all early Greek biblical translations *except* the Book of Esther.[19]

Sobolevskij pointed out (435 f.) that sometimes we find a stem-final *n* added to a name we would expect to end in *a*, e.g., *Vizŭsanu* (Dat.) 1:10 for Biztha. He attributed this—correctly, in our view—to a misinterpretation by the Slavic translator of a Greek accusative in -αν.[20]

16 For the sixth case, *Běxvanŭ* (var., *Bixvanŭ*) 2:21, where we expect **Vigŭthanŭ*, see previous note. This name may represent an early confusion of Cyrillic *v* with *b*, or perhaps the beginnings of the process of correcting the text on the basis of the Hebrew. 262 distinguishes *b* and *v* in accordance with the MT, e.g., b*avelĭsky* 2:6 for H. b*avel*.

17 [If we assume a Greek text where *theta* always stood for H. *taw*, as it does in LXX, and suppose that the Slavonic translation fairly consistently wrote *fita*, then the variations fit the patterns observed in dialect East Slavic treatment of foreign names in other texts. (A series of parallels can be found in the eleventh-century Rusian copy of the South Slavic translation of the *Spiritual Meadow* of Moschos; see *Sinajskij paterik XI v.*, ed. S. I. Kotkov [Moscow, 1967].) Since most of the problems here occur in the otherwise unknown names of officials or of Haman's sons, wide variation caused by scribal errors is to be expected. In any case, Meščerskij's appeal to the Hebrew pronunciation in Rus' makes little sense. 262 consistently uses *t* for *taw*. In a sixteenth-century Jewish Greek glossary to *Esther* and other books, *taw* is used as a phonetic symbol for *theta*, see M. Altbauer and Y. Shiby, "A Judeo-Greek Glossary of the *Hamesh Megillot*" [in Hebrew], *Sefunot* 15 (= The Book of Greek Jewry, 5 [Jerusalem, 1981]), pp. 367–421. HGL]

18 262 uses the Slavic affricate *c*, *Nauxadnec(a)r'*.

19 We must emphasize that it is precisely in the known Greek texts of the Book of Esther that the names do *not* follow the expected transcription reflecting the traditional Hebrew spellings. The Slavonic *Esther*, however, does appear to reflect very faithfully the transcription we expect for Greek.

20 Evseev (342) ridiculed this notion, apparently without looking closely enough at the text to find out precisely what cases Sobolevskij was referring to.

Let us turn to syntactic and phraseological evidence. Meščerskij states that the translation accurately renders the syntax and phraseology of the Hebrew, because, he argues, the translator followed the Hebrew original verbatim. There are, to be sure, many Hebraisms in the text, but this fact does not constitute absolute proof of the H-R thesis. As Meščerskij himself admits, Hebraisms are common in Greek religious literature and therefore in Slavic translations from the Greek. Literal renderings can survive two consecutive translations, especially in texts regarded as sacred. It is of great significance that the literal correspondence between the Hebrew and Slavonic wording of *Esther* is only partial and far from consistent. We will discuss Meščerskij's seven categories of this sort of evidence in the order he presented them.

To illustrate "the literal rendering of Hebrew prepositional government," Meščerskij cites 1:16, *ne c[a]rju edinomu sŭkrivila Vasti ašče ne* na *vsja bojary i* na *vsja jazyky* 'Vashti hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes and to all the peoples'. He points out that the Hebrew preposition *'al* 'against' is rendered by *na*. His point is not clear. First, *'al* occurs thrice in this verse (the queen had sinned against the king, against the princes, and finally against all the peoples in his kingdom), but only two are rendered by *na*, the king being presented in the dative case without preposition. The problem, then, is why the translator uses two different constructions. Secondly, *na* regularly means 'against' if used of persons, and it is one Slavonic equivalent of the Greek ἐπί and κατά in this meaning.[21] Even if one senses an inappropriate use of the preposition (or perhaps the dative case), the infelicity could just as well have been caused by a Greek intermediary text. If Meščerskij is implying that prepositions are mechanically translated, he is wrong, for *'al* is often rendered by prepositions other than *na*, nearly always in those instances where the semantic fields of the two prepositions do not coincide. For example, 4:5 *i zapověda emu* une *Mardŭxaja* 'and gave him a commandment *to* Mordecai'; 4:8 *i umiloserditi sja pred nim* o *ljuděxŭ svoixŭ* 'and to make request before him *for* her people'; 4:16 *i gověite mene* radi 'and fast ye *for* me'.

[21] Cf. André Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves*, vol. 5: *La syntaxe* (Paris, 1977), p. 140.

The use of prepositions in our text, far from reflecting Hebrew syntax, normally follows Slavic usage. A comparison with MS 262 makes this clear. In verse 2:3, for example, the Hebrew preposition *'el* 'to' occurs three times. The old translation uses three different prepositions appropriately, but 262 follows the literalistic principle consistently:

Tr. 2	kŭ *Susanu gradu* v *dom ženĭskyi* po *ručě* egaevě
Vil. 262	k *Šušanu gorodu* k *domu ženskomu* k *ručě hekěevoi*

'(that they may gather together all the fair young virgins) *unto* Shushan the castle, *to* the house of the women, *unto* the custody of Hegai'.

This verse, 2:3, is cited by Meščerskij to illustrate his second category, "literal rendering of Hebrew figurative expressions formed with the words *hand, eyes, soul,* combined with a preposition," as he contrasts *po ručě* 'into the custody of' with *po rukam* 'through the agency of' in 1:12[22] —both, he claims, representing Hebrew *be-yad.* In fact the prepositions are different, *'el* in 2:3, *b-* in 1:12. His second example is 3:11,[23] *stvoriti volju očiju tvoeju* 'to do <with them> as it seemeth good to thee', where MT has 'as is good in thine eyes'. This is indeed a peculiar rendering, but the omission of 'with them' and the general oddity of the phrase suggest later scribal corruption rather than an initial error in the translation. On the whole, the idiomatic use of 'eye' in *Esther* has been appropriately translated, e.g., 1:21 *predŭ c[a]remĭ* (cf. 262 *vŭ očiju c[a]revyxŭ*).

His third and last example in this category again shows his inattention to detail. The text of 7:7 (not 8:7, as he cites) reads *i Amonŭ sta na d[u]ši svoei o Esfiri c[a]rici.* Anyone comparing it to the MT will immediately perceive that a word is missing (as Roždestvenskij noted, 197), "and Haman stood up *to plead* for his life with Queen Esther." Yet Meščerskij would have it (210) that *sta na duši svoei* renders exactly *'amad 'al nafšo*[24] 'defend self, fight for

[22] It is not clear when Meščerskij is translating into modern Russian and when he is quoting the old text. In any case, MS 2 has *priti po rěčě* (for *rěči*) *c[a]revě iže po rukax starostŭ* 'to come at the king's commandment by his chamberlains'.

[23] Meščerskij erroneously cites 3:1; irritating minor errors of this sort are far too common in his work.

[24] We are tacitly correcting Meščerskij's erratic transcription of Hebrew and his inexact grammatical forms.

life (lit. stand on one's soul)'. This verse tells us nothing definite about the original language.

Meščerskij's third category is "literal rendering of Hebrew idiomatic expressions." He cites again 1:3, a verse of importance to Roždestvenskij, as we saw above, *silě Farěsěistěi i Maděistěi* 'for the *power* of Persia and Media'. He believes that a word meaning "army" should have been used. First, however, the Hebrew *ḥayil* means "strength, power, army"; any translator is free to decide what is appropriate in this context. The King James version has "power." Second, any writer can use "power" as a figurative equivalent for "army." This is in no way a Hebrew-specific question and it is no support for either the H-R or the H-G thesis.

Another of Meščerskij's examples is *ljudii zemnyx* in 8:17, *i množŭstvo ljudii zemnyx židovjaxu sja* 'and many of the peoples of the land became Jews'. Meščerskij is wrong to translate this Hebrew phrase as *sel'skie žiteli*, for here it clearly means "local inhabitants [of each region]." The translation is literal, but could easily have come through a Greek intermediary.[25]

The fourth category is "tautological expressions consisting of two words derived from the same root, serving to intensify the meaning." Meščerskij adduces two examples: 4:1 *i vŭzopi voplemĭ velikomĭ i gorekomĭ* [sic!] 'and cried with a loud and bitter cry'; 4:14 *ašče molčiši molčači* 'if thou holdest thy peace'. These both represent Hebrew cognate accusatives, with a very important difference. The first has a noun object and is easily translatable into either Greek or Slavic.[26] The second has an infinitive absolute as object and ordinarily must be rendered by means of paraphrase; a common device in Greek is a present active participle. However, both constructions are common in biblical Greek and consequently in Slavonic translation; therefore they offer no support for the H-R theory.[27] Meščerskij's definition of "tautological expression"

[25] [Meščerskij's two other examples are equally valueless. *Peace* in the sense of "health, well-being" (2:11; M. fails to cite the verse) is a Hebraism in biblical Greek (cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones-McKenzie, *Gk.-Eng. Lexicon*, s.v. *εἰρήνη*). *Yom ṭob* 'good day' is rendered literally in 9:22 in the LXX, though Jerome translates it as "festal day"; scholars disagree on when the meaning "holiday" became normal. (Jerome and LXX agree on "good day" in I Sam 25:8.) *Mirŭ Esfirinŭ* 'Esther's health' and *dĭnĭ dobrŭ* in *Esther* prove nothing. HGL]

[26] Cf. 8:3 *i* mysli *ego juže bjaše po*myslilŭ.

[27] [Both constructions occur in I Sam (I Kingdoms) 1:11: *ηὔξατο εὐχήν* 'she vowed a vow'. . .*ἐὰν ἐπιβλέψῃς* 'if thou wilt indeed look' becomes in the Slavonic Bible *oběšča obětŭ . . .ašče priziraja prizriši*. HGL] For similar translations in the Polish

includes 6:6 *i po*mysl*i Amonŭ v* mysl*i svoei*, where, to his surprise, the Hebrew has "and Haman *said* in his *heart*"—a free translation of a typically Hebrew idiom which a literalistic translator would reproduce. In fact, Hebrew *leb* 'heart' usually becomes *διάνοια* in LXX.[28] This, then, is evidence for a Greek intermediary for the Slavonic *Esther*, affirming the G-S hypothesis.

Parenthetically, we may point out, infinitive construct phrases usually appear as finite clauses, e.g., *ke-šebet* 1:2, literally 'when sitting' becomes *egda sěde* 'when he sat' (262 *osědšu carju*), 1:4 *behar'oto* 'in his causing to see' becomes *egda že pokaza* 'when he showed' (262 *pokazujuči*). Idiomatic use of the infinitive absolute is also rendered appropriately, e.g., 9:18 *i počivaxu* . . . *i tvorjaxu* for *we-noaḥ* . . . *we-'aśoh*. If the translation were as literally Hebraic as Meščerskij wishes to believe, surely we would find many more types of Hebraisms.

Next, Meščerskij mentions "twice repeating the same noun, sometimes with a copulative conjunction between the two, to denote 'each, every': *denĭ i denĭ* 'every day', *zemlja i zemlja* 'each province'. This somewhat less common Hebraism is also found in LXX and cannot prove the H-R thesis.[29]

Meščerskij's sixth category is "word order in compound numbers": 1:1 *sedmiju i dvěma desjatĭma i 100-mi vlasti* '(who reigned) over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces'; 1:4 *80 i 100-mi dnii* 'a hundred and eighty days'. Such order, though less usual in Greek, does occur in LXX.[30]

Finally, Meščerskij cites "the peculiar rendering of the Hebrew causative" in 6:1 *i sŭtvori pojazditi emu po ulicjam grada* 'and led him mounted [lit. caused him to ride] through the city square'. This is

Bible, see M. Altbauer, "O pewnej funkcji nieodmiennego imiesłowu czasu teraźniejszego w polszczyźnie," *Studia linguistica in honorem Thaddaei Lehr-Spławiński*, ed. T. Milewski et al. (Warsaw, 1963), pp. 333–37.

[28] See Susan Daniel, "Expressions with *head, mouth, heart* in the Septuagint translation of the Bible" [in Hebrew], in *Hebrew Language Studies Presented to Professor Zeev Bar-Hayyim* [in Hebrew], ed. M. Bar-Asher et al. (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 161–72.

[29] Indeed, we find *ljudemŭ i ljudemŭ*. . .*narodu i narodu* in the sixteenth-century Belorussian Bible translated by Francisk Skaryna, Est. 8:9; cf. "every province . . .every people" in the King James version. This Hebraism comes from the Vulgate as translated into Czech. Surely, no one wishes to claim that this and similar Semitisms in Skaryna demonstrate direct translation from the Hebrew!

[30] [Indeed, it is found in precisely these two examples in one Greek recension of *Esther*. Though M. adds "i t. d.," there are no further examples; *all* other numbers (including '127' 8:9) have normal Slavic (and Greek) order. HGL]

indeed peculiar for Russian, but it is not unusual in OCS, where it is a calque of Greek phrases using *ποιέω* plus infinitive.[31] It is thus, in our view, positive evidence that *Esther* was translated from Greek. Note that precisely the same Hebrew phrase in 6:9 is rendered by *provesti*.[32]

Thus, of Meščerskij's seven categories, six are compatible with both H-R and H-G-S theory, while one definitely supports the G-S hypothesis. Moreover, in analyzing his examples we have uncovered further evidence for that thesis and against his theory. Let us now look at some other constructions which, in our view, point to an intermediary Greek version.

The Slavonic *ašče* is used in two ways which, we maintain, show calques from Greek. First, *ašče ne* surely stands for *εἰ μή* in the sense of "except, but": 1:16 *ne c[a]rju edinomu. . .ašče ne na vsja bojary* 'not to the king alone. . . but also to all the princes'; 5:12 *ne privede. . .na pirŭ. . . ašče ne mene* '(she) did not invite. . .to the banquet. . . (anyone) but myself'.[33] Second, *ašče* is a generalizing particle with relatives: 2:13 *vsjakŭ eže ašče rečaše* 'and whatever she said'; 4:11 *vsjakyi muž i žena jako ašče prideťi* 'whosoever, whether man or woman, shall come'.[34]

The combination of a relative plus *ixŭ* imitates the Greek partitive:[35] 1:3 *boljaromŭ zemnymŭ i iže ixŭ o nem* 'unto the princes of the provinces (who were) before him'; 8:11 *ijuděomŭ eže ixŭ bjaše po vsěm gradomŭ* '(to) the Jews which were in every city'; *i na vsja eliko ix pristupaše k nimŭ* 'and upon all who should join them'.[36] Further, *iže* is used as a quasi-definite article in 1:14, *a iže bližnii emu* 'and those closest to him'.

The substitution of a periphrastic past tense for the Hebrew imperfect surely is a Hellenism:[37] 2:14 *na večeri ta* bě prixodjašči *i zautra* bě vŭzvraščajušči sja 'in the evening she went, and on the

[31] Cf. Vaillant, *Gram. comp.*, 5:183.

[32] [M. not only fails to mention the counterexample of 6:9, but he adds "i mnogie drugie." 6:1 is in fact the *only* instance of the "svoeobraznaja peredača" of a *hiph'il* form, although such causatives abound in the MT. HGL]

[33] MS 262 has *ino* in 1:16, and *nižili* in 5:12.

[34] For *eže ašče* and *jako ašče* 262 has only *iži*.

[35] See Vaillant, *Gram. comp.*, 5:52. Sobolevskij made this point, citing the first example.

[36] 262 has no equivalent at all in 1:3, simply *iži* in 8:11, and *vsjakoho xto* in 9:27.

[37] Cf. Vaillant, *Gram. comp.*, vol. 3: *Le verbe* (Paris, 1966), p. 132.

morrow she returned'; 6:11 *i* bě kliča *predŭ nimŭ* 'and proclaimed before him'.[38]

The possessive dative is either a Hellenism (cf. Vaillant 5, 88–89) or imported from South Slavic: 2:5 *imja emu Mardoxai* 'whose name was Mordecai'; 2:7 *da egda umre ot[ĭ]cĭ ei i m[a]ti ei* 'and when her father and mother were dead'; *pristroju ei i dary ei dajati ei* 'to give her ointments and her portions'.[39]

Finally, let us mention the use of the reflexive possessive *svoi* in the nominative case, rather than the usual Slavic genitive of the appropriate personal pronoun, surely copying the Greek ἑαυτ-: 5:14 *i reče emu Zeresŭ žena svoja* 'then his wife Zeresh said to him'; 6:13 *i rěša emu mudrĭci svoi* 'then said his wise men to him'.[40]

The features we have just discussed cannot be dismissed as mere Slavonicisms (cf. Meščerskij 1966 214–215), for in every case alternatives were available that also were normal OCS. The selection in these cases was, we submit, strongly influenced by the underlying Greek text.

From the beginning, scholars have paid particular attention to the vocabulary of *Esther.* It was Vostokov who first pointed out East Slavic elements; Gorskij and Nevostruev, Roždestvenskij, and Evseev were so impressed by what they perceived as vernacular elements that they concluded the translation was made as recently as the fifteenth century. Sobolevskij, on the contrary, cited many archaisms and rare words as evidence that the translation had been done before 1300. All agreed, however, that the translating was done by East Slavs.

Sobolevskij singled out first a group of words *Esther* shared with other Rusian texts, then words of west Russian origin he believed came from an intermediate copy of the text, and, finally, words unknown in other early Rusian manuscripts. Meščerskij (1956 215) states that all investigators have considered the vocabulary to be Russian: he declares it includes words borrowed directly from Greek, Scandinavian, and Turkic into Russian; and lists forty-six words, all of which, he asserts, "give an indubitably Russian character to the lexicon of the translation and leave no doubt whatever that the translation was made in Rus'." He offers no analysis at all,

38 MS 262 has *prixodila, voročalasŭ,* and *klikal.*
39 262 has the expected *eho* in 2:5 and *eě* in the four other cases.
40 262 has the normal Slavic *eho* in both instances.

and fails to explain how words which are unique to this text, or have a unique meaning, constitute proof. He believed these items to be exclusive to East Slavic texts or dialects or else exclusive to *Esther*. In fact, his list is of dubious value for his Rusian thesis: several of the words are normal OCS, others are known in various languages, one (*ottjati*, which would mean "chop off") is a scribal error (for *otjati* 8:2 'take [his ring] away from'), and two (*gověino* 'Lent' [!], and *udobiti sja* [not defined]) are not to be found in the text.

We will note only the unique or rare words, dividing them into three groups: (1) those not in Sreznevskij's *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkogo jazyka*; (2) those listed by Sreznevskij as attested only in *Esther*; and (3) those he found elsewhere also, but with a meaning in *Esther* that differs from that in his other citations.

Two of the words not in Sreznevskij differ from well attested verbs only in their prefixes: *navěsiti* 'weigh' and *preprodati* 'sell'. Thus 3:9 *i 5000 kapii srebra navěšju* 'and I will weigh five [! Heb. ten] thousand talents of silver'; and 7:4 *iže preprodana byx* 'for I [! Heb. we] have been sold, I and my people'.

A third, *uloběti* 'be pleasing', occurs three times: 1:19 *ašče c[a]revi uloběe* 'if it please the king'; 2:4 *i ulobě rěči c[a]revi* 'and the words pleased the king'. We posit it also for 2:9, where the text is garbled, by reconstructing *i *ulobě devica očima svoima* 'and the maiden pleased him'—i.e., Hegai, not the king.[41] Otherwise unattested, this unfamiliar verb is altered by copyists into more common forms; in 2:4 and 2:9 a later hand has written "ju" over the original "o" in MS 2, while Sreznevskij cites *uljubie* and *uljubě* in verse 1:19 from later copies. In Tr. 2, we may suppose that *uljub-* has been substituted for *ulob-* twice: 8:8 *jako že uljuběet očima vaju* 'as it liketh you'; 9:13 *ašče c[a]rju tobě uljuběet* 'if it please the king'. Perhaps the transitive *uljubiti* was originally **ulobi-* in 2:4 *i d[ě]vu juže uljubjaše c[a]rĭ* 'and the maiden which pleaseth the king'. We prefer the assumption that all these examples represent *ulob-*, the *lectio difficilior*.

[41] The actual text, *i ulobi d[ě]v[i]cju c[a]rĭ očima svoima*, appears to contain a transitive verb and might have meant "And he (Hegai) caused the maiden to be pleasing in the sight of the king." Yet the king should not be in this passage, which clearly deals only with Hegai and Esther.

Eleven words are listed by Sreznevskij with citations only from *Esther*: *bliskŭ* 1:6 'pavement'; *vol[ĭ]nikŭ* 10:3 'accepted, popular'; *dobrotvorĭnyi* 2:7 'fair, beautiful'; *židoviti sja* 8:17 'become Jewish, convert to Judaism'; *leptugŭ* 1:6, 8:15 'purple'; *obnesti* 2:15, 2:17, 5:2 *bě obnesena milosti* 'she won favor'; *prikljaknuti* 5:9 'bow'; *prepoi* 5:6 'banquet'; *pěstovati* 2:7 'foster, care for'; *rasprašćenikŭ* 9:19 'villager'; *utrinŭ* 1:6, 8:15 'white cloth'.

Finally, there are nine words which are cited from other texts by Sreznevskij, but the meaning in *Esther* is different: *d[ŭ]nešĭnyi* 4:11 'inner'; *lož[ĭ]nica* 2:14 'concubine'; *opraviti sja* 8:4 'stand up'; *ostojati* 9:2 'withstand'; *pogonĭčĭ* 3:15 'post, courier'; *rastvoriti* 3:13 'exterminate'; *sirota* 9:22 'pauper'; *starosta* 1:10 'chamberlain'; *tverdi* 9:29 'authority'.

We submit that, contrary to the assertions of Meščerskij and his predecessors, the lexical composition of this text raises serious doubts about the alleged East Slavic nature of the translation. The final redaction is undoubtedly Rusian, but we believe that certain of the words point to an older, South Slavic layer that may well represent the original translation. Thus *volĭnikŭ* 'accepted, popular', *rastvoriti* 'exterminate', *godina* 'year', and *vraža* 'die, lot' appear to be South Slavic.

It is curious to find here the first person singular present form *obrjaku* 'I find' (8:5 in MS Q I 2; *k* corrected by a later hand in MS 2 to the expected Slavonic *šč*; 7:3 in both manuscripts); this implies the mutation of **tj* to a palatal stop, a trait foreign to OCS and to East Slavic alike, but typical of Serbo-Croatian.[42]

Our analysis leads us to conclude that the history of the Slavonic text of *Esther* is more complicated than Meščerskij believed. Apart from certain western or Belorussian traits found only in specific copies, there is an undeniable early East Slavic (Rusian) layer. The South Slavic characteristics, however, seem to us to be ancient, and not just a matter of general Russian literary usage, whether of the twelfth or fourteenth century. We agree with Sobolevskij and Meščerskij that the translation is ancient, but not that it was made in Rus'. Meščerskij has not proved his thesis. *Esther* was translated

42 [Sreznevskij, in his *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkogo jazyka*, s.v. *obrěsti*, suggests that *obrjaku* is somehow parallel to *teku* and *mogu*, an analogy that makes no sense and fails to justify the form as genuine East Slavic. His sole example is from *Esther*. HGL]

into Slavonic from Greek, not from Hebrew. The various copies of *Esther* in East Slavic manuscripts afford no evidence at all that the Hebrew language was known to early Slavic bookmen.

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EDITOR'S POSTSCRIPT

A student of Meščerskij's, Anatolij Alekseevič Alekseev, has recently argued that the Slavic Song of Songs preserved in a unique sixteenth-century "West Russian" manuscript was also translated from the Hebrew in the eleventh century in Kievan Rus': "'Pesn' pesnej' po russkomu spisku XVI v. v perevode s drevneevrejskogo originala," *Palestinskij sbornik* 27 (1981): 63–79; cf. also his "'Pesn' pesnej' v češskoj biblii i vostočnoslavjanskie perevody XV-XVI v.," *Slavia* 52 (1983): 283–89. He believes that this text strengthens Meščerskij's already proven thesis, whose cornerstone is Esther.

On the basis of the text Alekseev published, Taube presents a more thorough analysis, cogently demonstrating that there is no evidence either for the antiquity of this translation or for a Kievan origin, although he affirms that it was made from Hebrew: "On Two Related Slavic Translations of the Song of Songs," in Festschrift Moshé Altbauer, *Slavica Hierosolymitana* (Jerusalem), vol. 7, pp. 203–210. Neither Esther nor the Song of Songs proves that early Slavic bookmen knew Hebrew. Moreover, Esther still stands outside the usual pattern of translation for biblical books, whereas the Song of Songs fits in neatly, as is manifest from the texts provided by Alekseev in his *'Pesn' pesnej' v drevnej slavjano-russkoj pis'mennosti, = Predvaritel'nye publikacii*, 133–34, Problemnaja gruppa po èksperimental'noj i prikladnoj lingvistike, Institut russkogo jazyka AN SSSR (Moscow, 1980). The surviving copies, unfortunately late and corrupt, clearly reflect early translation from the Greek (by Methodius?), transmitted both through the older western ("Ohrid") Old Church Slavonic tradition and the tenth-century eastern ("Preslav") redaction. Alekseev attributes the latter to twelfth-century Kiev, but his sketchy arguments seem to rest largely on the dubious assumption that Rusian bookmen were enormously active and learned translators; his methodology is erratic and his reasoning is based on a series of inconsistent and sometimes quite erroneous interpretations. See my article "The OCS Song of Songs: One Translation or Two?," *Die Welt der Slaven* 30 (NF 9) 1985. — *Horace G. Lunt*

Encounter with the East: The Orientalist Poetry of Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj

JAROSLAV STETKEVYCH

> Бо серед мовчущої тиші нічної
> Кується пригода.
>
> For in the sealed-lipped silence of night
> Is forged adventure.
> (Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 245)

Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's life seems to have been ruled by one supreme dictate—that of the inquisitive, creative, cultivated word. He was a natural, passioned philologist who was blessed with all the talent needed to further, feed, and justify his indomitable philological zeal. He was a man of prodigious memory, which he retained to the end of his life. Even more prodigious was his talent for languages: all sorts of languages, in difficult-to-imagine numbers and variety—certainly sixty of them, if not more, according to his own admission about one year before his death,[1] when his autobiographical musings issued not from hubris, but from a pristine reservoir of humility. The staggering thing about Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's linguistic prowess was, however, his high level of fluency in all those languages that required fluency and the superb degree of his structural, lexical, and stylistic insight into those languages that did not permit mere fluency. The philological *passion* was ever present in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's life—even in those moments, spells, or entire periods when other interests, and indeed other passions, crowded his heart and mind. Furthermore, in his philology there is a certain universality of meaning of that term, which brings to mind its definition by Vico as "all that depends on the human will," an allusion to the creative power of the *logos* when it is manifested as will. It is in this all-encompassing *logos*, too, that Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj found room for almost thirty years of literary creativity—particularly poetic creativity.

[1] *A. Ju. Kryms'kyj—Ukrajinist i orientalist* (Kiev, 1974), pp. 20–21.

Early in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's career, this intrusive single-mindedness of an apparently extraliterary philological impulse was not entirely understood, or perhaps only apprehensively contemplated, by Ivan Franko,[2] the otherwise brilliantly insightful literary mentor of the budding philologist's increasingly surefooted tread across and into ever-widening horizons of the *logos*, horizons within which Franko, too, had frequently moved with the unencumbered license of an initiate.

Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj was born on 15 January 1871, in Volodymyr-Volyns'kyj. His father was of remote Baxčysaraj-Tartar origin, while his mother came from a Polish family settled in Lithuania. Early in Ahatanhel's childhood, his father, a secondary school teacher of history and geography, was transferred to Zvenyhorodka, a small town near Kiev. This enabled Ahatanhel to complete his secondary education in Kiev itself and to enter subsequently, with a scholarship, the prestigious Halahan College (1885–1889).

In 1889, Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj entered the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow. Graduating in 1892, he remained attached to the institute's chair of Arabic philology, so as to prepare himself for a professorship. In those years (1892–1896), he also completed another course of study at the University of Moscow, in the faculty of philosophy and history. With a new master's degree in hand (1896), he was given the opportunity to go to Syria and Lebanon, where he remained till 1898 in total philological, literary, and ethnographic absorption. Upon his return to Moscow he rejoined the Lazarev Institute, and lectured there in the history of Semitic languages, historical and geographic texts, grammatical texts, the Koran, the history of Arabic literature, and especially Arabic poetry. He was also engaged in the supervision of translations from the Russian language into Arabic and vice versa. From 1901 to 1918, he held the Lazarev Institute's chair of Arabic language and literature. There, too, from 1915 to 1918 he taught Persian language and literature, and for two years he assumed the instruction of the Turkish language, as well. Between 1900 and 1918, he was also the permanent secretary of the Moscow Archaeological Society and simultaneously the editor of its series (*Drevnosti vostočnye*). He returned to Kiev in 1918, where he assumed Kiev University's professorship of world history. There he became one

[2] Ivan Franko, *Tvory*, 20 vols. (Kiev, 1955–56), 20 (*Vybrani lysty*): 494–95.

of the founders of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and its first permanent secretary (1918–1929), as well as the founder of the Ukrainian Oriental Society and its honorary president.

Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's ascending career and public prominence continued until 1930, when he was subjected to a forced anonymity, a state of affairs that changed only with the outbreak of World War II and the Soviet annexation of the Western Ukraine, due to his apparent usefulness as an academic Soviet good-will emissary to the Western Ukrainian scholarly community that then had begun to gather around the newly Ukrainianized university of Lviv. Soon, however, the German attack on the Soviet Union and the rapidly unfolding German occupation of the Ukraine forced Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj out of Kiev, and in the chaos of the precipitous Soviet withdrawal his death is reported to have occurred on 25 January 1942, in a prison hospital in Kazakhstan. There he lies buried in a communal grave.

The Stalinist postwar years shrouded in silence the achievement and even the very name of Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, and it was not until after the official policy of "thaw" that his name and work regained at first official tolerance and subsequently, grace.

His works, the scholarly portion of which alone exceeds one thousand titles, are presently becoming accessible through new editions.[3] In particular his literary production, both creative and critical, has found generous space in the five volumes of his works published in Kiev in 1972.[4] Among these, the collection of poems which concerns us here, *The Palm Fronds*, comes to us today with hardly any loss of that suppleness and richness that once quickened the sensibility of one of the most creative and aesthetically finely-honed generations in the recent history of Ukrainian literature.

The world of poetry seems to cultivate its own *hortus conclusus* of titles—iconic titles, as it were, that rewrite their meanings with inherent persistence, not unlike those familiar icons of the countless Madonnas in the meadows and Pantokrators in the almond. Among such titles is Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's *The Palm Fronds*, a collection of lyrical poetry that is a comprehensive expression of his poetic self, and which in its own life as a text grew between its first

[3] *A. Ju. Kryms'kyj: Bibliohrafičnyj pokažčyk (1889–1971)* (Kiev, 1972).
[4] A. Ju. Kryms'kyj, *Tvory v p''jaty tomax* (Kiev, 1972–74).

edition of 1901 and the conclusive, and indeed reclusive, edition of 1919. As a whole, the collection is the image of Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj the poet—or, looked at somewhat more broadly, it is the image of Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj that Ivan Franko might have conceived and programmed in his own mind across the distancings that separated Kryms'kyj's Zvenyhorodka and Kiev, institutional academic Moscow, Syria and Beirut, and again Moscow, from Franko's own world, whose internal expanse was as vast as its external reaches were curtailed. If Ivan Franko had a dream and a blueprint for Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's soul—and on the testimony of his correspondence with the poet-orientalist, Franko *did* have such a blueprint—it was something very close to the idea of *The Palm Fronds*. There is a more directly intrusive reason, also, for Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's title to make us think of Franko and his own collection of poems, *The Wilted Leaves* (Lviv, 1896).

It is unquestionable, and quite naturally part of some final will of form, that precise titles had come to both poets after their collections of poems had already been well defined by their mood, tone, and theme. At that point both poets thought of the organic, vegetal symbol of their respective lives—or, rather, both poets rethought that symbol. The younger poet saw in it his own imaginative self-configuration, as much as he saw in it the older poet's personal, symbolic usage, and so *The Wilted Leaves* became *The Palm Fronds*. For, as Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's subtitle somewhat self-consciously explains, his palm fronds stood for something he chose to call "Exotic Poems," something quite different from the intimately native flora of Ivan Franko.

The iconography of the title imagery of these two Ukrainian poets can be traced back even farther—to the agony of editions and reeditions between 1855 and 1891/92[5] —of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, considering that the young American literature was not only familiar to Ivan Franko in broad terms, but was by his own admission one of the more powerful influences upon his work.[6]

Vegetal symbolic titles,[7] when they emerge from poets' own

5 This is the so-called "deathbed edition."

6 The evidence in Franko's *Vybrani lysty* (*Tvory*, 20:20, 23, 582), however, shows that his interest in American literature lay in prose rather than poetry.

7 In poetry, especially, vegetal titles appear to us almost instantly prima facie as "organic," that is, as having discernible structure dictated from within. Originally, however, such titles, or terms, did not point to any structure. Rather the opposite is true, for their early use was normally for anthologies—themselves no more than

agonized perceptions of their work, are to be taken seriously—even when at the same time they owe their being to that other flora: literary dissemination, with its ambiguity of parentage. This overlapping vegetation symbolism of titles, however, has its limitations, and that is in part expressed already in the prefaces to the three collections. Thus in the preface to the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, Walt Whitman makes clear his scorn for "emasculated versifiers" and sees himself as "the athletic spokesman of a virile America." He also insists that he is "the poet of the body and good health," which he goes on repeating "even though, beginning in 1873, his body was wracked with pain and his gait was that of a partial cripple." This is how Edwin Haviland Miller reads Whitman's prefaces, summing them up by saying that "nineteenth-century America, it sometimes seemed, liked to assume the hirsute pose—manly style, manly behavior, muscular Christianity . . . ."[8]

Ivan Franko's preface to the first edition of his *Wilted Leaves* (1896) is, as it were, the obverse of Walt Whitman's coin. "The hero of these poems," he writes, "the one who there reveals his 'I,' is now dead. He was a man of no willpower but of a lively imagination . . . . Once only in his life was he capable of a decisive step, and sent a bullet through his head."[9] Ivan Franko then expresses a half-felt hope that "perhaps the torment and anguish of that sickly soul will eventually cure some sickly soul in our society," and he concludes by reminiscing on Goethe's inscription on a copy of his *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* meant for a friend: "Sei ein Mann und folge mir nicht nach" (Be a man and do not

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gatherings, or gleanings, of flowers. From "anthology" derived the Latin *florilegium*, a term quite intentionally applied to unorganized collections, mostly in prose. Another such term is the Renaissance *floresta*. But there are also such "organic" titles as the sixteenth-century Spanish *Silva de romances*, and *Flor de romances*; or the equally sixteenth-century *Rosa de romances*, *Rosa española*, *Rosa real*, *Rosa gentil*—all "anthologies" by Juan de Timoneda. The unstructured nature of the vegetal "organic" also becomes apparent in late Medieval and Renaissance *millefleurs* tapestries. It is only in the Romantic period, or thereafter, that the organic-as-structured perception of the bunch or bouquet, or even of the anthology, imposes itself in a manner that allows such a prima facie understanding.

8 *A Century of Whitman Criticism*, ed. Edwin Haviland Miller (Bloomington and London, 1971), p. xi.

9 Franko, *Zibrannja tvoriv u p''jatdesjaty tomax. Xudožni tvory tomy 1–25* (Kiev, 1976–80), 2 (1976): 119.

follow me).[10] In the preface to the second edition of *Wilted Leaves* (1910), Ivan Franko then explains himself further by clarifying the obvious, namely, "that the prose preface to the first edition . . . is no more than a literary fabrication."[11] Thus between Walt Whitman and Ivan Franko we have two rather opposing "literary fabrications."

Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's prefaces to his *Palm Fronds* are perhaps even more self-contradictory in their revelations and obfuscations and, ultimately, in their "literary fabrication." In his "Prelude" ("Zaspiv") to the 1901 edition which appeared in Lviv, Kryms'kyj emphatically, in an overtly stylized fashion, says that he issues his *Palm Fronds* into the world "not for people physically healthy, but for those somewhat sick, with their craving for life and their nerves rent, for those who are both prone to tears and to sweet ennui, who both pray to God and err."[12] He envisions his readers to have the boundlessly naive archegoism of the sick human being "who lies in a sanatorium and rejoices at the news of a fresh, curly bud sprouting on a Himalayan cedar."[13] His poems are for those sickly, lonely ones who with that naive egotism are capable of loving a single sympathetic soul, a family, or all of humanity. But those who are entirely healthy in body and heart, "especially those who rather than breathing in the perfume of exotic flowers and listening to every throb of their own or other nervous hearts, rush bravely into battle for all of downtrodden society"—what should he tell such readers but that "they not even bother to unfurl these Palm Fronds."[14]

Fortunately, this is not the last word in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's introduction, which by its style and mood is so clearly datable to 1900 that the poet need not have insisted on 1901 as the year in which it was written. Indeed fortunately, the introduction ends with a double quatrain of great delicacy and of truly balming effect, especially in its first quatrain:

10 Franko, *Tvory* (1976), 2:120.
11 Franko, *Tvory* (1976), 2:121.
12 Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja: Ekzotyčni poeziji* (Kiev, 1971), p. 8.
13 Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 8.
14 Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 9.

Срібную лілею буря підотнула;
Пишную корону до землі пригнула.
Пахощі пропали. І блищить сльозина,
Наче дорогая, буйная перлина.[15]

The silver lily the tempest cut down,
The lavish crown bent to the ground
The fragrance ceased, a tear-drop gleamed
Like a costly, wanton pearl.

In their exquisitely stylized manner, such verses are appropriately orientalizing—if not altogether Oriental—as they appear to lead us to some identifiable garden poetry of the caliph-for-a-day, Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 908), or to that of the Damascene poet al-Wa'wâ' (d. 999):

نرْجِسَةٌ لم تَزَلْ محدّقةً لم تكْتَحِلْ قط لَذّةَ الغُمْضِ
أمَالَهَا القَطْرُ فَهْيَ باهتةٌ تَنْظُرُ فِعْلَ السَّمَاءِ بالأرضِ[16]

A narcissus, its pupils agaze,
never knowing slumber's delight,
Bending under raindrops, pale,
    it only sees
the sky's hand upon the earth.

Kryms'kyj's stylistically somewhat tormented introduction not only ends, but also begins with a poem—in the form of an apostrophe to *poesy* or to the muse: "O poetry, my road companion!"[17] This apostrophe-invocation is still highly romantic in the European manner, seemingly untouched by the poet's Oriental experience—if one overlooks the repeated, otherwise puzzling references to "psychopathy" and to the poet's being called *pryčynnyj*, possessed

[15] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 9.

[16] Al-Wa'wâ' al-Dimashqî, *Dîwân*, ed. Sâmî al-Dahhân (Damascus, 1950), pp. 136–37. These lines are also attributed to Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296 H./908 A.D.), in whose *Dîwân* (Beirut, 1961; p. 291) the first hemistich of the first verse figures as نرجسةٌ لا تزالُ محدّقةٌ , thus distorting the metre *al-munsariḥ*. I. Kračkovskij finds reasons to hesitate before assigning this "fragment" to Ibn al-Mu'tazz: see his *Abû-l-Faradž al-Va'va Damasskij: Materialy dlja xarakterystiki poètičeskogo tvorčestva* (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 78–79.

[17] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, pp. 5–6.

of the kind of madness that is provoked by a spell or by unrequited love. But then, such is also the madness of the Arabic *majdhûb*, *majnûn*, and *mutayyam*: the lovelorn poet modelled on the 'Udhrî poetic affectation of Arabic desert poetry of the Omayyad period.

It is in this light, too, that we can begin to understand the Ukrainian poet's reference to "everyday's impurity" (line 5) covered by the lunar mantle of poetry. This impurity will reemerge with much more insistence in the first of the principal cycles of part 1 of the collection, under the telling title of "Sullied Love" ("Nečestyve koxannja"),[18] and will also oblige the poet to add a lengthy footnote within the introduction itself, trying to explain his "Sullied Love" as well as his other cycle "Love as People Know It" ("Koxannja po-ljuds'komu"). The footnote is a quaint protestation against any possible autobiographical interpretation of the manner in which the poet speaks of love both sullied and as people know it. He does not call it a "literary fabrication," however, as did Ivan Franko. Instead, he introduces the persona of an anonymous but famous professor-orientalist whom he had befriended in 1897 in Beirut,[19] and on whom he had observed the complex effects of such love. Through him he realized that "love, when it is untouched by the uncleanliness of sex, even if it be abnormal and unhappy, it no more than breaks the heart, ruins the physical health, and turns a person into a melancholic—but it does not take away one's faith in life, one's energy to live, nor does it kill the soul or the idealistic and poetic impulses . . . . As for ordinary human love, no matter how idyllically and poetically it may begin, it soon loses all its poetry and turns into sexuality. For some time a person may even feel intoxicated and may delude himself with 'Moslem paradisiac revelries'—in the end, however, comes the reaction, the disappointment, loss of faith in one's own self, disgust for the whole world, nostalgia for the by-gone, pure days . . . ."

[18] It is self-understood that chronologically that section antecedes all of the introductions to the collection.

[19] Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's extant correspondence from his sojourn in Beirut speaks rather of his pronounced lack of peers' company. Indeed, Kryms'kyj appears to have steered away from social contacts while in Beirut, devoting himself indefatigably to scholarship and to his literary musings—and also to an illuminatingly perceptive observation of contemporary life and social foibles.

This false elation of "love as people know it" already belongs to a different observation, which the poet made in 1900 while in the Caucasus, where, once again, he witnessed the moral disintegration of an unnamed "protagonist."[20]

Of course one could dismiss Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's "Prelude," as one could dismiss all introductions written by all poets. In the case of our poet, however, we would lose in such a dismissal more than we would gain. Still, what do all these internal convulsions of the young—but not very young—poet mean? After all, Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj was thirty years old when his introduction appeared in print. Furthermore, he had the charming lack of inhibition to allow that introduction to be reprinted in 1919 in his final compilation of poems, when he was already Permanent Secretary of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. To this one could simply reply that in 1919 he still knew, or felt, himself to be a poet, and poets have an uncanny love for words—especially for their own words, which all too often they would not see die at any cost. Otherwise, however, he certainly knew what his subsequent critics appear to have known; but then, as an intimate connoisseur of Arabic and Persian literatures, he also knew more than his critics. Therefore, one is tempted to assume that certain things quite opaque to them should have appeared engagingly clear to him.

Thus already Ivan Franko, in his review of *The Palm Fronds*, while taking some facets of Kryms'kyj's tortured poetic persona seriously, nonetheless introduces a certain tone of irony precisely where he speaks of the purity and sincerity of the poet's feelings.[21] Franko could, of course, just as easily have been speaking of the baring of his own feelings in *Wilted Leaves* and of his own "literary fabrication" in his introduction to that collection. Still, certain of his lines written elsewhere could serve as captions for some of Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's poetry—as well as for some of his own, and, for better or worse, also to the "modernism" of the end of the century which he saw as so vulnerable and very often amusing:

Ах, друже мій, поет сучасний —
Він тим сучасний, що нещасний,
Поет — значи́ть: вродився хорим,
Болить чужим і власним горем.[22]

[20] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 7.
[21] Franko, *Tvory*, 17 (1955): 295.
[22] Franko, *Zibrannja tvoriv*, 3 (1976): 108.

O friend, poet contemporary—
He is contemporary as is his luck contrary.
A poet—means: one born to malady,
Hurting with his and with his fellow's misery.

Here Franko touches upon that affected, stylized *malaise* which characterized the mood of *fin de siècle*[23] in European poetry. The problem with Ukrainian poetry of that period was that in it this *fin de siècle* malady was not meant to appear in its rarefied, filtered West European form. On its way to the end of the nineteenth century, it did not pass through Baudelaire or the subsequent Symbolists, and it did not have the tributaries of the other stylized expressions of contemporary sensibility, especially that of *art nouveau*, for these means of stylization could save, or at least ameliorate, all sorts of problematic posturings in West European poetry of that period.

In the Ukrainian case, however, Ivan Franko, in spite of the echo of Walt Whitman in the title of his *Wilted Leaves*, quite self-consciously takes us back to Goethe's *Sturm und Drang* period with its own brand of *Weltschmerz*, which, with its thicker grain of pathos, would not have passed through the filter of the symbolist and post-symbolist *fin de siècle.*

Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, although his road to a personal notion of style cannot be disassociated entirely from that of Ivan Franko, comes in the affectation and stylization of his sensibility considerably closer to the European mood of *fin de siècle.* There are certain teasing phrasings in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, like the very title of his cycles "Sullied Love" and "Love as People Know It," for instance, which spark equally teasing thoughts of a cycle of poems like "Calamus" in Walt Whitman's poetic flora, and which can also generate associative links with Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal*—even if such an association be in the effect of the title alone. In brief, one does not sense pathos in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj to the extent one senses stylization, and in this the poet is in step with the aesthetic requirements of his time.

[23] This aspect of Kryms'kyj's self-sense has already been observed by Oleh Babyškin in his sympathetic overview of the poet-scholar's life and work, *Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj* (Kiev, 1967), p. 38.

One must then further remember that Kryms'kyj had given his *Palm Fronds* the subtitle "Exotic Poems," and exoticism once again is a tribute in name to the symbolist notion of stylization—for exoticism is not the raw alien substance, but rather its stylized adaptation to prevailing sensibility. Moreover, that stylization is executed so discreetly that for the most part the alien, would-be-exotic ingredient goes unnoticed, and thus, if any exoticism is left, it is in topography and geography alone. On the other hand, all the references to sullied or sullying love, to the psychopath and the *pryčynnyj*—bewitched poet, or even the peculiar creation of fictitious protagonists of unobtainable and destructive love imaginings—all this is part and parcel of a hidden exoticism, hidden to the extent that only the poet as a highly accomplished adept of classical Arabic literature knows where it truly surfaces, or rather, he does not expect or require his readers to know or sense such things. This attitude on the part of the poet does not produce calculated obscurity; instead, it creates a sense of familiarity and shared topicality and can provoke in the reader even a degree of misled expectation of some "true exoticism" yet to come.

Nevertheless, all the needed "exoticism" of at first Arabic and then increasingly Persian provenance is indeed there, among the fronds. In his first year as an Arabist, Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj must have read exhaustively in the poetry composed in the manner of the pining, lovelorn desert poets of the 'Udhra tribe. Already in the early Omayyad period, poets of that more or less generic grouping were supposedly responsible for the formulation of a code of self-denying, even self-punishing, pure—that is, sexually unfulfilled—love. The symbolizing representative of that school of poets is said to have been a poet of particular ill fortune in love who lost his senses and in mad ecstasy roamed the desert. He became the archetypal *pryčynnyj* among the poets of Arabia.

In subsequent centuries, Islamic-Arabic literary scholars, who frequently were also theologians, created an anthological as well as anecdotal body of literature from and around that 'Udhrî model, which then developed the tendency, particularly at the hands of the litterateurs-theologians amongst them, to structure itself into something resembling a doctrine of love. It was within that doctrine that views like the ones Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj expounds in the lengthy footnote in his "Prelude" were foremost.

It is in the light of this discreetly assimilatory, rather anti-exotic approach to an alien literary source that one has to begin reading *The Palm Fronds* from the very first lines of the poetic "Prelude," which, as we had previously noticed, actually ends with a masterfully disguised quotation from Arabic poetry. One can then also realize that the mixed form of the "Prelude," with its poetic and prose elements strung together into one discourse, is itself highly reminiscent of the Menippean style of classical Arabic essays, diatribes, and tracts, and that in Arabic books on love that style is particularly at home.[24]

So many things in the symbolic view of life and work fall into three parts that Kryms'kyj's decision to subdivide his *Palm Fronds* into three parts will hardly strike us as significant or original. After all, Franko, too, had gathered his *Wilted Leaves* into three bunches, and William Sloane Kennedy claimed to have discovered a tripartite structure even in Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, in the form of three celebrations: of the Body, of Democracy, and of Religion.[25]

Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's collection of poems is different, however. It constitutes what would otherwise be termed his collected poetic works. It is thus a true *dîwân* in a tradition that once again strikes us as Oriental and, if recognized as such, exotic. Its tripartition delineates almost exactly the three decades of the writer's poetic creativity and one should even say vitality. The poet's twenties, thirties, and forties are registered with curious chronological firmness in three respective parts; then, just two years before reaching the age of fifty, the poet fell silent.

It will be mostly the first part of Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's collection that remains of critical concern to Ukrainian literary history and also to the history of European aesthetic trends in which literary Orientalism played an important formative role. The two subsequent additions to the collection are only a testimony to a poetic talent's history of giving way to other intellectual passions, mainly to the passion of philology and then gradually to the

[24] The full text of the most famous Arabic treatise on love, *The Dove's Neckring*, by the eleventh-century Cordovan theologian and philosopher-poet Ibn Ḥazm, written precisely in that style, was published only in 1914 by the Russian scholar D. K. Petrov. Its manuscript, however, had been discovered and described by Dozy as early as 1841 (Leiden Catalogue of Manuscripts).

[25] *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman* (London, 1896), pp. 100–102; see a discussion of that structuring in James E. Miller, Jr., *A Critical Guide to Leaves of Grass* (Chicago and London, 1970), pp. 165–66.

additional passion of history. Thus at first the intensity of poetic passion recedes (in part 2), and then scholarly-philological translation takes the place of the poet's own voice completely (part 3).

Part 1, however, is different. It is Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's true poetic voice even when it appears encumbered by the rigor of translation—indeed, it is most often at its best when submitted to such rigor.

It begins with a series of short poems, of which the first three present a Lebanese idyll and the remaining ten form a sequence of elegiac musings, with the central topic—or, rather, mood—being the poet's sense of loneliness and estrangement. What is most characteristic of these two clusters, however, is that the first derives its lyrical atmosphere and diction—and even much of its topicality—from the *Song of Songs*, whereas the second is in the whole complex of its lyricism intimately Arabic. As a result the reader is introduced into the poetic realm of Lebanon, then known as Syria, in a manner which nearly permits the use of a term as odd as lyrical realism; for in the sense of a lyrical cognition of the aesthetic and emotive reality that Syria and Lebanon represented to Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, and which they still represent to us today, the symbiosis of the *Song of Songs* and of those lyrical quintessences of the classical Arabic elegiacally toned *nasîb* poetry represents an unquestionable form of reality, the conscious poetic cultivation of which deserves to be called its own realism—meaning, the realism of our imagination.

First the poet presents the idyll—the image of a paradise-like land accessible through poetic reverie. He quotes unabashedly, because to him to quote from the *Song of Songs* is like celebrating a poetic mass: the word remains ritually pure and new. Thus we are meant to recognize Song 4:14–15, and Song 2:12–13. We are meant to breathe in the most wondrous perfume and want never to leave the garden that exudes it. And even when the poet stops quoting for an instant and talks of a girl—very much like a Ukrainian peasant girl—greeting the returning spring, even then the halo of the *Song of Songs* remains, enveloping his every word. He closes the cluster with a return to the imagery and diction of the *Song of Songs* that are once again recognizable and at the same time fresh (5:6), and very Ukrainian in phrasing:

Я всі очі прогляділа, —
Милого нема![26]

My eyes wasted away with looking—
My love is not here!

Now we notice that in this first cluster, which is also a coherent poem, we were given to experience things both divine and human: the reverie of the garden and its loss, when the idyll ended and night and loneliness set in. The poet thus makes us cross the threshold into a realm which, in spite of its beauty—still reminiscent of the first garden—is always sad. That garden is now the intimate form-and-tradition-locked world of the classical Arabic elegiac prelude form, the *nasîb*, which, from being merely an opening section in the oldest form of the complex Bedouin poem, the *qaṣîdah*, had subsequently evolved into an independent, centrally genre-defining element of Arabic poetic lyricism. The individual poetic motifs of Bedouin provenance live on in this seemingly archaizing lyricism, a metaphorized life freed from their original quite strict structural and thematic context. Only the ancient elegiac mood of constant separations, farewells, departures, and of a blanketing sense of loneliness remains intact. Such, then, is also the diapason of mood in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's second cluster of poems, written in March of 1898 and entitled "Alone in a Foreign Land." It is dedicated to Prince Alexander Gagarin and his wife Mary, whom he had befriended while in Beirut.

In the opening segment he speaks of his inability to remain bent over his Arabic manuscript folios while outside the window the orchard stands in bloom. From the poetry he writes precisely during that period of his stay in Syria, we can easily guess that the folios Kryms'kyj is reading are themselves Arabic poems, the closest blood-relatives to his own verses. However, there is still much in his poetry that is broadly Romantic. Even Schubert's *Lieder* come to mind: *Nun muss ich alles wenden / Der Frühling will nicht enden* sounds like a close paraphrase.

But spring joy brings spring languor, which brings spring sorrow, all of which, in their poetic order, are also thoroughly Arabian: for the time of separation has come and dark brooding has taken over heart and mind. Semiotically it is as if certain Arabic poetic key words had been proffered: *firâq—humûm*:

[26] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 14.

То розлука, зла гадюка, —
Вся причина чорних дум.[27]

It is parting, evil viper,
Reason of all gloomy cares.

In the dedication prefacing this poetic cluster the poet had mentioned "Beirut in Syria"—but he knew that the more precise place of his loneliness and of his lament was the archaic Arabian poet's long-abandoned encampment, from which those whom he loved so passionately have departed. Like that Bedouin poet of Arabia, Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj now stops, too, over the abandoned encampment of his own loneliness and addresses those whose cruelty consists in not being able to unburden him of his present gloom:

Де ви, де ви, милі други?!
Чом тепер вас тут нема!..
А без вас розкішний південь
Задля мене мов тюрма.[28]

Where are you, companions dear,
Why are you no longer here?
For the South's delights to me
Without you are like captivity.

Such lines in Kryms'kyj's verse are only rarely taken from any particular Arabic or Persian poem (the Persian influence upon him, in the creative sense, I would date considerably later than these early sections of his collection). Rather, they belong to an accumulated poetic stock, acquired in a thoroughly learned philological fashion but then released from their philological bondage and allowed to roam freely, and creatively, in a poetic mind itself free and creative. In some cases, however, Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj chooses to translate quite literally—or almost literally—and then he warns us that a given piece is "from the Arabic." There are also those intermediate approaches, where the poet adopts and adapts poetic ideas that, although they remain recognizable, are so completely implanted into a more broadly conceived poem that the poet himself no longer thinks of the source. One such assimilated poetic

27 Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 16.
28 Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 16.

idea, almost a quotation, occurs at the close of the collection's 1901 introduction. Another one is imbedded into, or rather informs, the central poetic idea of poem 6 of "Alone in a Foreign Land." It begins in a tone perhaps closer to the already familiar model of the *Song of Songs*, but then it makes us even think of Goethe's

Kennst du das Land wo die Zitronen blühn,[29]

which enjoyed a puzzling popularity in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's generation:

Горді пальми. Думні лаври...
Манячливий кипарис.
Океан тропічних квітів...
Ще й цвіте цитринний ліс...

Haughty palm trees, lordly laurels,
Giddy cyprus' reverie,
Ocean of tropical flowers,
Abloom every lemon tree.

In this state of seemingly boundless bliss, the poet chances to look down—and there, next to a palm tree, his eye falls on a modest spike of rye, and the spike, bending mournfully from its stem, whispers to him questioningly:

We both are strangers to this paradise,—
What could have brought us here?

Ми чужі для цього раю, —
Що ж сюди нас принесло?[30]

The history of this poem, however, should transport us away from Kryms'kyj's nostalgic solitude in Lebanon to the nostalgia felt by 'Abd al-Raḥmân I, the founder of the house of Umayya in Arab Spain. For the story goes that the fugitive Syrian prince, having built himself a garden residence, called Ruṣâfa, on the outskirts of his new Cordovan capital, looked out from his pleasure pavillion

[29] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke*, 22 vols. (Mainz and Weimar, 1932), 1:107.
[30] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 19.

one day and noticed a newly planted, lonely palm tree. At its sight he was moved by great sadness, and spoke the following lines:

> O, palm tree, as I,
> You are foreign in the west,
> From your stock estranged.

[31] يا نخلُ أنتِ غريبــةٌ مثلى   فى الغرب نائيــة عن الأصلِ

In spite of the likelihood that the utterance is apocryphal, in time it became as popular—or as inevitable—in Arabic poetry as nostalgia itself. The Ukrainian orientalist Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, too, found it and used it, as he felt a bond of kinship growing between himself and that distant Umayyad prince.

The first major cycle of poems in *The Palm Fronds*, the somewhat awkwardly pathetic "Sullied Love," is ushered in with a dedicatory poem addressed to the poet's former teacher, Vs. F. Miller. The language in that short poem is quaint, even perplexing, with its *viglietto dolce*, "feverish anticipation of every single word,"، "drinking new life from every word," "catching the glance of the eye, sincerely pressing the hand," the asseveration that "you add to my faith in truth and learning."[32] What does all this mean? Well, quite simply, it means that Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, who in the main part of "Sullied Love" sees his fictitious protagonist as a *majnûn*—or a *pryčynnyj*, that is, as a poet in the 'Udhrî mode—has deliberately altered the rhetoric in his dedicatory poem drastically, for here he assumes the posture of a courtly panegyrist, someone closer in style to al-Mutanabbî when that poet praises, or cajoles, his patron, the Ḥamdānid ruler of tenth-century Aleppo. For al-Mutanabbî's diction, when meant for that patron—and for that patron only, one must say—also abounds in the likes of *viglietto dolce* and asseverations of being the bestower of truth and learning, or their tenth-century equivalents. It is also right to mention here that Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj was somewhat of a flatterer: already Ivan Franko, in his early correspondence with him, had to admonish him

[31] Ibn al-Abbâr (Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Quḍâ'î), *Al-Ḥullah al-Sayrâ'*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1963), 1:37.
[32] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 21.

to abandon all awkward blandishment.[33]

It is in poem 3 of this cycle that the poet turns to the more unmitigated lyrical current of his Arabic poetic inspiration, and all the familiar traits of the 'Udhrî and 'Udhrî-related school emerge clearly delineated. Then, in the third book of the same cycle, he gives us by way of Heinrich Heine a veritable European romantic version of chaste Bedouin love—only here it has already become a ballad, or, rather, Heine's mannered equivalent of a Spanish *romance morisco.*[34] We note only that Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj succeeds fully in capturing both Heine's style and that style's Romance undercurrent. The most recognizably Arabic part of that poem—and one which has a bearing upon the whole cycle—is the characterization of the 'Udhrî lover as a "martyr of love," for it is love as martyrdom which allows this poetry to be absorbed into the mainstream of Arab-Islamic mysticism, something with which Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj was intimately familiar as a scholar as well.

Even though the entire cycle of "Sullied Love" owes much of its affectation and articulation of mood to classical Arabic lyrical models, only poems 3, 16, 17, and 28 are entirely explicit in their "orientalism." There are also two exceptions: the first one is poem 18, which, in a delightfully Ukrainian popular verse form, returns to the atmosphere of the *Song of Songs*; and the second is poem 26, which is no more than a pastoral idyll with rather classicist thematic ingredients, albeit tainted with Schiller's poetic diction.

I shall attempt to illustrate the explicitly Arabic element with a translation of poem 16 ("On an Arabian Theme"):

З червоним блиском місяць згас,
Сховався за горою.
В плащі із зір глухая ніч
Схилилась надо мною.

Усе поснуло. Мовчки я
Сидю у мертвій тиші:
Журливий рій моїх думок
Повітря не колише.

Та впала зірка... Задрижав
На небі слід вогненний.
Замлів я весь... Не зірка то!
То ти летиш до мене!

33 Franko, *Tvory*, 20 (1956): 432.
34 Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, pp. 37–38.

І чую вже я шепіт твій,
І п'ю твоє дихання.
Одна лиш мить... І знов я сам,
І знов саме страждання.[35]

With a red flare the moon went out,
And hid behind the rise.
In starry mantle the still night
Curved over me her spine.
All is asleep. Silent
I sit in the night's deadly hush:
The sombre swarm of thoughts
The air lulls not to rest.
A star fell . . . With a shiver
A fiery trail crossed the sky.
I well-nigh fainted . . . No, not a star,
It is to me you fly!
I hear your whisper now,
I drink your breath.
One twinkling only . . ., then
Again all's loneliness, again all's pain.

The significance of this poem, as it enters the Ukrainian formal context, is that in the Arabic sense of formal parentage it is at the same time one of the most classicist and one of the most paradigmatic examples of a basic lyrical unit. This unit is the already mentioned *nasîb*—here very synthetic but, precisely because of that, unadulterated. It offers an unambiguous lesson in sensibility.

The cycle that follows, "Love as People Know It," was meant by the poet to be seen as an antistrophic response to "Sullied Love": the impure love which expresses itself there in terms akin to mysticism leads in the end to salvation, while the euphoria of unrestrained love here is, in spite of its initial illusion of sacrality, only a fleeting epiphany. For these fleeting moments speaks his poem "Moslem Paradise: Love-Joys and Paradisiac Revelries":

[35] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, pp. 28–29.

Рече пророк: «Люблю молитись,
Люблю жінок кохати
І знаю третю любу втіху:
Вдихати аромати».
    І от, коли я п'ю повітря
    Пахучеє весняне,
    Із грудей рветься щирий голос:
    «Я ваш, о мусульмани!»
«Ти й думать одвикнеш!» —
Воркоче мій розум.
А серце співає:
«Чини, як Мохáммед:
    Бували години —
    Він янголів слухав;
    Бували години —
    Гуляв у гаремі».[36]

The prophet speaks: "I like to pray,
I like to love women
And I know one third beloved joy:
Perfumes to inhale."
    And so, when I drink the air
    Redolent, spring-like,
    A pristine voice bursts from my breast:
    "I am yours, o Musulmans!"

"You'll lose the custom of thinking!"—
My reason grumbles.
And the heart sings:
"O, do as Mohammad—
    There were hours
    He listened to the angels;
    There were hours
    He frolicked in the harem."

The next cycle in the poet's baring, or creating, of his lyrical "persona"—that is what much of this collection ends up being—is that of his "Tunes before Death" ("Peredsmertni melodiji"). At some moments at least the poet must have felt these tunes were his

[36] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 54.

own prolonged swan song. And yet the sap of rebellious, recalcitrant vitality runs through practically every poem of the cycle; or, it would be more correct to say that almost every poem is a polarized agony—that is, combat—and thus a cyclically repetitive gain and loss, loss and gain, of some of the finest poetic energies of the collection as a whole. And one of the poet's best gestures, too, is the dedication of the cycle to Ivan Franko, with poem 3 speaking most directly to the author of *Wilted Leaves*.

The major part of the cycle, beginning with poem 7, is conceived formally as a pastoral "Interlude," with its "prologue," "serenade," "imprisonment," then "*finita la commedia*," and then the true closure of a "refrain." The construction of this cycle, too, is anchored in more or less direct reliances on Arabic poetic materials that oscillate somewhere between actual translations and freely associative poetic echoes.

In the "Prologue" of this "Interlude" the poet's voice is at first very diffused, almost losing itself in a broadly pastoral genre sensibility, into which it admits remoter resonances from the *Song of Songs* and more immediate ones from seemingly Arab picturesqueness. Only then do clearly recognizable contemporary Arabic folkloric themes, or tunes, appear (poems 10, 12, 13). These are then strengthened in their Arabic authenticity of voice by actual translations of classical Arabic poems and poetic fragments. All these elements, however, are integrated into the cycle's major form-defining mood of the pastoral idyll—an idyll which will yet lead to a closure that strikes deeper, tragic notes.

Thus, following the poet's classical Arabic translations-adaptations, which within the dialogued structure of this Arabized idyll represent the male voice vis-à-vis the female voice of the folkloric elements, we find the poet at first captive of a mood of unrestrained reverie (poem 9):

Я спинився на спочинок
У розкішному гаю.
Сад росистий... Срібні квіти...
І затишно, як в раю.

Сотні мрій мене обсіли
Од такої красоти,
І бажань усяких безліч...
Та в усіх була лиш ти.[37]

[37] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 68.

I stopped to rest
In a luxuriant grove:
Garden dewy, silv'ry flowers,
Undisturbed as paradise . . .
Reveries ahundred from beauty so great
There around me swarmed,
And desires beyond number—
But you were in all.

ولمّا نزلنا منزلاً طلّهُ النّدى أنيقاً وبُستاناً من النور حاليا
[38] أجدَّ لنا طيبُ المكان وحُسنُـهُ مُنًى فتمنّينا فكنتِ الأمـانـيا

Reverie and bliss, however, turn into self-conscious elegiac illusion, and then into self-delusion. If the classical Arabic poetic fragment at hand does not entirely explain such feelings, the poet-translator does not hesitate to attach two further strophes to the text while yet remaining faithful to the intent of the Arabic poetic motif of *ṭayf al-khayâl*, the nightly phantom apparition, and to the characteristic dialogue style of the *ghazal* as a distinct Arabic poetic form (poem 11):

Ви, може б, мені заказали
Кохануючи Лейлу видати?
Нехай! Та ніхто не закаже
Тужливиї співи складати!
Ви, може б, мені заказали
Із Лейлею мати розмову?
Вві сні вона прийде до мене,
Зустріну я Лейлоньку знову!
В переддосвітню годину
Бачу Лейлу уві сні.
«Мила!! Хочеш дати щастя,
Заборонене мені??»
Каже: «Ні, мене вже кидай,
Набирайся забуття».
«Не покину й не забуду:
Ти ж усе моє життя».[39]

[38] Abû Tammâm Ḥabîb Ibn Aws al-Ṭâ'î, *Al-Ḥamâsah* (Sharḥ al-Tibrîzî), 4 vols. (Cairo, 1879), 3:155. In the al-Marzûqî redaction this poem corresponds to poem 524.
[39] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 69.

Would you forbid me
To see my Layla, my love?
Then do it! Yet no one
Can stop a song's sad rhyme.
    Would you forbid me
    to talk to my Layla, my love?
    Then in a dream she will come
    I will see her again!
In a dream before dawn
I see Layla, my love:
"Is it happiness you bring,
Is it the forbidden bliss?"
    "Leave me, you must," she says,
    "Forget me, you'll learn."
    "No, I'll not leave or forget you,
    You are my very life."

فإنْ تمنعوا ليلى وحُسنَ حديثها   فلن تمنعوا منّى البُكا والقَوافيا
فهلاّ منعتم إذ منعتم حديثَها   خَيالاً يُوافينى على النّأيِ هادِيا [40]

The next poem in this pastoral interlude with a tragic proclivity, poem 14, is one of the most elegiacally lyrical Arab voices that Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj chooses to adopt as his own. It is a voice melancholy with a sense of loss and nostalgia—but it is not yet a voice that speaks of death. In this poem, too, Kryms'kyj takes liberties with the underlying text—this time no more than repeating the opening strophe (which corresponds to the opening line of the Arabic original) at the poem's end, turning it into a refrain, or lingering closure. The tone of his diction, on the other hand, had to remain much more subdued in its specifically Ukrainian coloration because of the poem's precise thematic strictures.

Душà летить у рідний край
За табором єменців,
Та тілом я на чужині,
В полоні у мекканців.

[40] Abû Tammâm, *Al-Ḥamâsah*, 3:150 (poem 514 in the redaction of al-Marzûqî).

І от, на диво, уночі
Прийшла до мене мила,
В'язницю замкнену мою
Тихенько одчинила.
Сказала кілька втішних слів
Та скоро й попрощалась, —
Душа моя за нею вслід
Із тіла видиралась.
Дівча! Не думай, мовби я
У цім ворожім краї
Зробився вже хитким-плохим
І мовби смерть лякає.
О ні! Й погрозами мене
Не застрашать меккани:
Я й досі їм не покоривсь,
Хоч на ногах кайдани.
А ти... Тобі я покоривсь:
Тебе кохаю сильно,
Так само, як кохав тоді,
Як був людина вільна...
Душа летить у рідний край
За табором єменців,
Та тілом я на чужині,
В полоні у мекканців.[41]

The soul flies homewards
After a throng of Yemenites,
My body, though, is in a foreign land
Imprisoned by the Mekkans.
How strange that in the night
My love should come to me,
My prison shut and locked
She opened silently.
She spoke her words of comfort
Then hastily said adieu,
And in her trail my soul
Out of my body tore.
Girl, do not deem me here
In this my enemies' land
A faltering weakling who'd
Show fear before death.

[41] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, pp. 70–71.

O no, with threats
The Mekkans scare me not.
Till now I never yielded
Although in chains I walk.
  But before you I surrendered:
  And you I love so strongly
  As ever was my love
  When a free man I walked.
The soul flies homewards
After a throng of Yemenites,
My body, though, is in a foreign land
Imprisoned by the Mekkans.

هَواى مع الركب اليمانينَ مُصعِدٌ   جَنيبٌ وجُثمــانى بمكّةَ مُوثَقُ
عَجبتُ لمسراها وأنّى تخلّصَتْ   إلَىَّ وبابُ السجن دونى مُغلَقُ
أتَتْنا فَحَيَّت ثم قامَت فودّعَت   فلمّا تولّت كادَتِ النّفسُ تَزهَقُ
فلا تحسبى أنّى تخشّعتُ بعدَكمْ   لشىءٍ ولا أنّى من الموت أفرَقُ
ولا أنّ نفسى يزدهيها وعيدُكُمْ   ولا أنّنى بالمشيِ فى القَيد أخرَقُ
ولكنْ عرتْنى من هَواك صبابةٌ   كما كنت ألقَى منك إذ أنا مُطلَقُ [42]

The idyllic "Interlude" wants now to end, and not only formally: *Finita la commedia.* Such is the entirely non-Arabic title of poem 15, in which the poet attempts to face his frailty in an unmitigated way. What had come before were but "sny iz čudovoho Sxodu"—dream visions coming from the wondrous East,[43] to which he now must say adieu in this manner so full of almost studied pathos. What does not allow him to sink fully into the *fin de siècle* ennui, however, is the intrusion into his poetically saturated sensibility of the fiercest of all the heroic postures in pre-Islamic poetry—the testament of al-Shanfarâ, in which that indomitable brigand-poet asks not to be buried, but to be left to the hyenas at the crossroads. Such a heroic bearing on the part of the Arabian poet makes the Ukrainian poet's sensibility react with unequivocal genre-consciousness, and that genre-consciousness must suffice to explain, and justify, his prefacing the extant Arabic text of the poem, which may be no more than a poetic fragment, with an

[42] Abû Tammâm, *Al-Ḥamâsah,* 1:25–28 (poem 6 in the redaction of al-Marzûqî).
[43] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja,* p. 71.

additional couplet. The addition not only shows how well he understood the true heroic tone of the Arabic original, but it also turns a merely skillful translation into a quite possibly Ukrainian poem. It turns a translation into a highly organic adaptation, which means that it makes the poem as a whole resonate within a poetic tradition that is no longer exclusively Arabian, but Ukrainian as well. The poem now strikes notes which take its Ukrainian reader back to such native grounds as the characteristically epic opening of the otherwise richly lyrical *Lay of the Host of Ihor*, and even more to the equally epic-lyrical *dumy* of the Cossack period. It is here in particular that Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's diction impresses itself upon the entire rendition of the Arabic poem with its intimately Ukrainian, genre-conscious coloration. This tone is sustained throughout, beginning with "nahadaju sobi ja," to "zdijmut' holovu junac'kyju," to "ljaže temna ničen'ka":

Нагадую собі я передсмертний спів
Героя Ша́нфари в руках у ворогів:
    «Не ховайте! бо не суджено
    Похорон для мене.
    Вийде з мене здобич ласая
    В дикої гієни.
Здіймуть голову, — юнацькую
Найважнішу силу.
Зволочу́ть її на роздорож...
Викинуть і тіло.
    Там не буде вже сподіванки
    На життя і радість.
    Зверху ляже темна ніченька
    І людська ненависть».[44]

Let me recall the hero Shanfarâ
When in foe's hands he sang his song of death:
    Do not bury me, for fate
    Holds no burial for me,
    But leave my corpse as carrion
    For ferine hyena.
The youthful head they will take off,
That strength above strengths,
To the crossroads they will drag it,
And leave a headless corpse.[45]

[44] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 72.
[45] Since Kryms'kyj's version intends to be a poem in its own right rather than

Gone will be all musings
Of life and of joy,
Under the cover of dark night
And human spite.

لا تقبُــرونى إنَّ قبرى محرَّمٌ   عليكم ولكــنْ أبشرى أُمَّ عامِرِ
إذَا احتملوا رأسى وفى الرَّأس أكثَرى   وغودر عند الملتقَى ثَمَّ ســائِرِى
هنــالك لا أرجو حياةً تَسُرُّنى   سجيسَ اللَّيــالى مُبْسَلاً بالجَرائِرِ [46]

If the fierceness of the Arabian brigand-poet makes Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj shudder, the pristineness and nobility of such untamed, archaic passion also fascinates him (poem 17):

Вовчая натура! дикий заповіт!..
Але чути в йому любую принаду...[47]

A wolf's nature! A savage testament! . . .
But in them there's such sweet attraction.

---

merely a faithful translation, it is only of limited importance to note that he actually swerved from the Arabic text in letting al-Shanfarâ's head end up at the "crossroads." Moreover, such a reading seems to reflect more properly the storied tradition that grew around this poem.

[46] Abû Tammâm, *Al-Ḥamâsah*, 2:24–25. It otherwise appears that the characteristically epic two-liner, which Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj so skillfully put before his translation of the al-Shanfarâ poem, is itself an adaptation of the commentary-like preface that the great German translator of the *Ḥamâsah*, Friedrich Rückert, had added to his own version of the same poem. Thus Rückert:

Schanfara von Esd, nachdem er durch seine Kriegsfrevel die Blutrache von allen Seiten gegen sich aufgeregt hatte.

Nicht begraben sollt ihr mich! nicht soll man euch gestatten
mein Begräbnis. O Hyäne, komm mich zu bestatten!,

Wenn man hat hinweggenommen meinen Kopf, darinnen
ist der beste Teil von mir, und wirft den Rest von hinnen.

Hier hoff ich kein Leben weiter, das mich könn't erquicken,
wo mich so viel Frevel täglich mit Gefahr umstricken.

[*Hamâsa oder die ältesten arabischen Volkslieder, gesammelt von Abu Tammâm*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1846), 1:180].

[47] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja*, p. 72.

This attraction to the opposite had already moved the Attic Goethe to translate another fierce poem by al-Shanfarâ's fellow-brigand, Ta'abbaṭa Sharran, and the latter poem had then also been translated, by way of Goethe, into Ukrainian by none other than Ivan Franko, who did not hesitate to call it *An Arabian Duma.*[48] This recognition of a community of genre is therefore more than an orientalist poet-scholar's affectation.

Inwardly strengthened by his excursus into the sublimation of the archaic Arabian confrontation with death, Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj allows his poetic sensibility to return to the calmer waters of elegiac musings—thus what remains of poem 17. There, however, the waters darken and deepen, obliterating every vestigial romanticism and all the other possible forms of contemporary affectation. What remains is expressed in the shortest poem of the "Interlude," which bears the title "Refrain." It takes us, as if in a reassertion of another cyclic reenactment, other than its formal function as refrain, to moods of a mystically calm soul, from before the soul knew turmoil and after it had overcome it. The "Refrain" is thus another negation, qualitatively different from the heroic one, of *finita la commedia.* And if the Arabizing echoes have not ceased ringing in this poem altogether, they have grown discreetly faint, or rather, they have blended fully into the concert of the other discreet voices of contemporary symbolism:

Невидимо я полину по землі
Тихим вітром по запашному зіллі;
Ароматом, повним чару,
Обійму тебе, мій царю, —
Горду голову твою
Опов'ю.[49]

[48] Franko, *Tvory* (1976), 3:320–24. Goethe's own version of Ta'abbaṭa Sharran's fierce poem had a rather programmatic role to play in that German poet's characterization of pre-Islamic Arabia and its lore. He included it in his "Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständnis des West-östlichen Divans" (Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *West-östlicher Divan* [Frankfurt, 1981], pp. 131–35).
[49] Kryms'kyj, *Pal'move hillja,* p. 73.

Unseen, I'll pass lightly overland
A soft breeze over fragrant green;
With witcheries of redolence
I'll embrace you, my sovereign—
Your head so proud
I'll shroud.

Antiquarian as well as literary-historical reasons, and also more specific, orientalist-scholarly ones, would at this point prod us to pursue Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's poetic itinerary across the remainder of *The Palm Fronds.* If we do not give in to such proddings, however, it is because our present interest in Kryms'kyj is neither antiquarian nor biographical—nor even orientalist-scholarly. It is rather in Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj as that Ukrainian poet who has gone through the experience of an encounter of sensibilities with one "oriental" literature in particular, the Arabic one, and has asserted himself as a poet throughout that experience, emerging at the end of the itinerary both enriched and enriching, and above all never having lost himself as poet.

In the subsequent stages of *The Palm Fronds,* the self-assertive timbre of Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj's poetic voice will become ever more muted—to the extent that ultimately we may no longer speak of his poems, or even of his adaptations, so much as of his translations, in which his excellence as poet has already yielded to superior dictates of textual fidelity, and in which the creative poetic impulse has become a technical facility at the service of other impulses.

In a comprehensive sense, however, the Ukrainian poet-scholar has accomplished something unusual both as a scholar and as an orientalist. He has brought into the literature of his native tongue new visions and new sensibilities in such an organic manner as to mute all resistance on both the giving and the receiving side. If already before him Ivan Franko had translated vastly, and also beautifully, from an almost staggering variety of linguistic and cultural spheres, those translations were often self-consciously programmatic and exploratory incursions into the universality of sensibility—but they were not necessarily Ivan Franko's poetic lifeblood or credo. Thus, no matter how charming, and how Ukrainian, one or another individual instance from among Franko's fifty once-removed translations of poems originally Arabic ultimately turn out to be—and one such instance ought to be the poem "Starist'" (Old Age):

Ах, літа-літа
Переможнії!
Як же в суставах
Причинили ви
Тяжку дрож мені!

Що давніше я,
Як молодшим був,
То ходив-ходив
Не втомляючись.

А тепер лежу
Або як хожу,
То дрижу-дрижу
Й не схиляючись.[50]

O, years—years
Overpowering,
How in my joints
You cause
All this trembling!

Though in days gone by,
When much younger yet,
I could walk and walk
And never grow weak,

Here I now do lie . . .
Or when I do walk,
I tremble—I tremble
And then bends the stalk.

—they are not integral to Ukrainian sensibility in a formally innovative and enriching sense, but, rather, they enter that sensibility eclectically, due to their facile, propensive assimilability.

The opening up of the Ukrainian poetic sensibility not just to the new topicality of Arabic, as well as Persian, poetry, but also to the Hermetic sense of form which that poetry presupposes, is the accomplishment of Ahatanhel Kryms'kyj, and in that he stands somewhere very close to Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan.*

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50 Franko, *Tvory*, 8 (1977): 149.

Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Question in the Early Seventeenth Century[1]

DAVID A. FRICK

Meletij Smotryc'kyj (ca. 1577–1633) was one of the outstanding figures in Ruthenian (Ukrainian) letters during the great flourishing of the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. His famous conversion from Orthodoxy to the Uniate religion also made him one of the most controversial figures of the age. Much of the scholarship on Smotryc'kyj has dealt with his role in the polemics over the Union of Brest of 1595–1596 and has placed major emphasis on his conversion. Thus Smotryc'kyj has been viewed as a man of dramatic change, and his life and works have been divided into two parts: pre- and post-conversion, or Orthodox and Uniate. Since many scholars have written from a particular national or confessional point of view, we can also speak of two major historiographic traditions: Catholic/Uniate and Orthodox.[2] It is the thesis of this study that in concentrating on a dichotomy in Smotryc'kyj's work, such investigations have often overlooked certain constants which are characteristic of his cultural and literary endeavors as a whole.

As the corpus of Smotryc'kyj's work is still a matter of discussion, it may be helpful to provide at the outset a list of the works used in my research.[3] Thirteen works published during the author's

[1] The present article contains material taken from my doctoral dissertation, "Meletius Smotricky and the Ruthenian Question in the Age of the Counter-Reformation" (Yale University, 1983), and attempts to provide a synthesis of some key sections.

The term Ruthenian is employed throughout to render the term *ruski* as it appears in the seventeenth-century Polish texts. Generally speaking, the word was used to refer to the Orthodox people of the Polish Commonwealth who inhabited the lands of Belorussia and the Ukraine.

[2] For a review of the bibliography on Smotryc'kyj, see Frick 1983:39–75. (A list of references with bibliographical data is appended, pp. 373–75.) The most complete biography of Smotryc'kyj can be found in Solovij 1977 (volume 1). An overview of the key events and the controversies in Smotryc'kyj's life can be found in Nimčuk 1979:6–22.

[3] For a discussion of the corpus of Smotryc'kyj's works, see Frick 1983:19–37. In addition to the works listed above, we have a manuscript in Latin and Polish (published in Studyns'kyj 1906) as well as ten letters in Latin and five in Ruthenian

lifetime may definitely be attributed to Smotryc'kyj. I list their titles here, along with the two-letter abbreviations I use throughout this article:

1. *Threnos* (= Th), Vilnius 1610.
2. *Evangelye učitelnoe* (= EU; references are to the edition which contains a preface dedicated to the Ogins'kyj and Volovyč families), Vevis 1616.
3. *Grammatyky Slavènskyja pràvylnoe Sýntagma* (= Gr), Vevis 1619.
4. *Kazan'e* (Ruthenian version, = KR), Vilnius 1620.
5. *Kazanie* (Polish version, = KP), Vilnius 1621.
6. *Verificatia niewinności* (two editions; references are to the second edition, = VN), Vilnius 1621.
7. *Obrona verificaciey* (= OV), Vilnius 1621.
8. *Elenchus pism uszczypliwych* (= EP), Vilnius 1622.
9. *Justificatia niewinności* (= JN), Vilnius 1623.
10. *Apologia* (= Ap), Lviv 1628.
11. *Protestatia* (= Pr), Lviv 1628.
12. *Paraenesis* (= Pa), Cracow 1629.
13. *Exaethesis* (= Ex), Lviv 1629.

Since Smotryc'kyj's conversion is said to have occurred between 1624 and 1627, works 1 through 9 are usually considered "Orthodox," whereas works 10 through 13 are called "Uniate."

Uniate and Catholic interpretations of Smotryc'kyj's life and works have been offered by Ukrainian and Polish scholars since Smotryc'kyj's death.[4] These became accepted in Polish reference works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In accordance with the Uniate and Catholic view of Smotryc'kyj's conversion, the activities of his later years have sometimes been seen as a defense of Ukrainian nationhood or of the Polish Commonwealth, depending on the national orientation of the individual scholar.

(published in *Akty* 1865, *Arxiv* 1887, Golubev 1883, Šeptyc'kyj 1971, and Welykyj 1972).

[4] Among the major works in the Uniate and Catholic historiographic tradition are Kortycki 1634, Suša 1666, Martinov 1863, Tretiak 1912, Grabowski 1916, *Zbirnyk* 1934, Urban 1957, Kurylas 1962, and Solovij 1977.

The most influential formula of this Catholic and Uniate historiographic tradition has been an analogy drawn between Smotryc'kyj's conversion from Orthodoxy to the Uniate church and St. Paul's conversion from a persecutor of the Church to its foremost apostle. Another analogy often made has been between the function of the martyrdom of St. Stephen in the life of St. Paul and the martyrdom of St. Josaphat Kuncevič in the life of Smotryc'kyj. This formula was given its most complete elaboration in the lengthy *vita* by the Uniate Bishop Jakov Suša (1610–1658) entitled *Saulus et Paulus ruthenae unionis sanguine Beati Josaphat transformatus sive Meletius Smotriscius*, etc. (Rome, 1666).

Orthodox interpretations of Smotryc'kyj have been offered by Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Russian scholars.[5] These have been accepted in reference works published in the Soviet Union. Smotryc'kyj's conversion received an immediate and negative evaluation in the Orthodox polemical literature of 1628 to 1634, but it seems that thereafter no Orthodox treatments were produced until 1805. This is in marked opposition to the considerable fame and appreciation which Smotryc'kyj enjoyed in the eighteenth century throughout the Orthodox Slavic world as a grammarian, especially due to his *Grammatyky Slavěnskyja právylnoe Sýntagma* (Vevis, 1619).[6]

Orthodox and Soviet scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has viewed the Union of Brest as an attempt to Polonize and Catholicize the Orthodox. Hence it has treated Smotryc'kyj's conversion as a betrayal of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, or even Russian nation. Most scholars have placed the blame for Smotryc'kyj's lack of steadfastness on his varied educational experience and especially on the Jesuit upbringing which he received in the academy in Vilnius. Many have also argued that he was motivated throughout life by an interest in personal gain.

Lacking in the studies concentrating on a dichotomy has been an attempt to come to terms with Smotryc'kyj's own concept of the spiritual, cultural, and political communities in which he lived and worked. It is the purpose of this article to outline the constants in

5 The following works belong to the Orthodox historiographic tradition: Bantyš-Kamenskij 1805, Askočenskij 1856, Kojalovič 1859, Elenevskij 1861, Demjanovič 1871, Golubev 1883, Osinskij 1911, Korowicki 1935, and Prokošina 1966.

6 Studies of Smotryc'kyj's grammar of Church Slavonic form a separate body of scholarship that has been less concerned with his conversion. Among such studies are Weingart 1923, Horbatsch 1974, Kociuba 1975, Nimčuk 1979, and Nimčuk 1982.

Smotryc'kyj's thought on what he called the *naród ruski*. A contextual analysis of his use of the term will provide information on the social make-up of the Ruthenian "nation"[7] and will help to define its place in the larger political and confessional communities to which it belonged. The final goal of the study is to outline the invariables in Smotryc'kyj's spiritual program for the *naród ruski*.

I

Many of the studies of Smotryc'kyj that were written in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be viewed as continuations of the seventeenth-century polemic. This type of scholarship has often viewed the events of the period following the Union of Brest as an earlier manifestation of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century conflicts between the Polish, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Russian nations, and has applied modern concepts of nationality and nationhood to the seventeenth century in an ahistorical manner.

In the last fifty years scholars have begun to study the complicated process of the formation of national consciousness in the Polish Commonwealth of the early modern period. Stanisław Kot (Kot 1938) and Janusz Tazbir (Tazbir 1971) have sketched in general terms the growth of Polish national consciousness before the seventeenth century. As Kot has pointed out, part of the difficulty stems from a lack of clarity in contemporary Polish terminology dealing with nationhood (Kot 1938: 20–25). The term *naród* had a wide variety of meanings which could correspond to those rendered by the Latin *gens*, *populus*, and *natio*.

The problem is further complicated by the common phenomenon of multiple "patriotisms." As is shown by the often quoted declaration of Stanisław Orzechowski, who considered himself "gente ruthenus, natione polonus," membership in a local community such as the *gens ruthena* in no way necessitated a conflict with membership in the larger "multinational" *Res Publica*. Polish scholars such as Kot and Tazbir have tended to concentrate on the creation of the "political Pole" and have devoted little attention to the first manifestations of a developing Ruthenian national consciousness. Myron Korduba has drawn on polemical tracts concerning the Union of Brest to depict the state of national

[7] Here I use "nation" to render the term *naród* as it is found in the seventeenth-century Polish texts.

consciousness among the Ruthenians in the early seventeenth century (Korduba 1933). Recent studies by Frank E. Sysyn, on the other hand, have examined the role played by growing national consciousness in the Xmel'nyc'kyj revolt. The case of Smotryc'kyj may provide some information on one of the early stages in this process.

First of all, we know from Smotryc'kyj's Latin letters that he considered the Ruthenian nation to be a *gens*, for he consistently used *naród ruski* and *gens rossiaca* as corresponding terms.[8] I have not found any instances where Smotryc'kyj used the word *natio* to refer to the Ruthenians. Furthermore, he viewed the *naród ruski* as a constituent part of the Polish Commonwealth. The term *oyczyzna* ("patria," "fatherland") Smotryc'kyj used in reference to the Commonwealth as a whole and not to the Ruthenian nation in particular. Let us examine, for example, the distinction between *naród* and *oyczyzna* made in the following passage from *Verificatia niewinności* (Vilnius, 1621):

> By the living God, whom of our Ruthenian nation would this not pain? Whom among our fellow-citizens would this not move to commiseration? In this matter even all the non-Christian sectarians, who have no access to enjoyment of the liberties of these states (*państwa*), are freer than are we, as we said, an independent nation, a free nation, a nation born with the other two in one fatherland (*oyczyzna*), [a nation] which bears all burdens equally with them, a nation which is whole-heartedly faithful to its gracious lords, the kings, the annointed of God, [a nation] which gladly sheds its blood at their every command.[9]

Here and elsewhere the Ruthenian nation is treated as one of the three nations (Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian) which together form the Commonwealth.

[8] See the Latin version of the letter to Patriarch Cyril Lukaris published in Welykyj 1972: 130–145 and the Polish version published at the end of *Paraenesis* (Cracow, 1629).

[9] VN: 59v: "Kogoż to/ prze Bog żywy z narodu naszego Ruskiego boleć nie ma? kogo y z społobywatelow iego do *commiseraciey* nie poruszy? Swobodnieyszemi są w tey mierze wszyscy y nie Chrześciańscy sektarze/ ktorzy z wolności Państw tych cieszyć się żadnego przystępu nie maią/ niżeli my Narod/ iakośmy rzekli wolny/ Narod swobodny/ Narod w iedney Oyczyźnie z drugiemi dwiema vrodzony/ y wszytkie ciężary zarowno z niemi noszący: Narod Pomazańcom Bożym Krolom Panom swoim M. szczyrze wierny, krew swoię na wszelakie ich roskazanie ochotnie rozlewaiący."

How then is the Ruthenian nation distinguished from the other two? As Sysyn has noted in his study of a text from the middle of the seventeenth century, "to be part of the 'Rus'" people, one had to profess the "'Rus' faith" (Sysyn 1981: 457). Smotryc'kyj, too, followed the common code of the age of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation which emphasized religious identification as a major national characteristic. It was quite normal for Smotryc'kyj to refer to the *naród katholicki* ("Catholic nation") or *wiara lacka* ("Polish—i.e., Catholic—faith"), to the *relligia ruska* ("Ruthenian—i.e., Orthodox—religion") or even to the *Russkiey Religiey Szlachta* ("nobility of the Ruthenian religion").

The following passage, for example, from *Exaethesis* (Lviv, 1629) demonstrates to what extent Smotryc'kyj viewed the confession as an intrinsic characteristic of the nation:

> Those Christian nations which are in Turkish servitude have already become Turkified for the greater part; the Roman Church has taken a good portion of our [Ruthenian] nation as well; the heretics—the Calvinists, the Arians, even the Mohammedans—have stolen away many of us. We have lost princely houses; we have little nobility, fewer lords.[10]

It is clear that the Ruthenian nation is defined here to a great extent by its Orthodoxy. The existence of the Ruthenian nation is threatened not by any ethnic group or secular polity, but rather by the loss of its members through conversion to other confessional groups, i.e., to the Roman church, to the various heretical groups or even to Islam.

An even subtler mixing of confessional and national terms is to be found in the following passage from *Elenchus pism uszczypliwych* (Vilnius, 1622), a work from Smotryc'kyj's Orthodox period:

> Finally, after all this you ask us: "Does not the Holy Spirit speak through Solomon of you or such apostates when he says, 'a wicked man (*homo apostata*), a useless man, goes about with crooked speech, winks with his eyes, scrapes with his feet, speaks with his finger, with a perverse heart devises evil and continually sows discord'?" [Prov. 6:12—14] To which we answer: It does not speak of us, but of you and your like, who are between the Ruthenian nation and the Polish nation the same as is the foe of God and mankind between God and man. You do nothing else for

[10] Ex: 100r: "Te Narody Chrześciańskie/ ktore są w niewoli Tureckiey/ po więtszey częśći iuż Turczały: naszego też Narodu po niemałey częśći wziął Kośćioł Rzymski/ po niemałey pourywały go Haeretyctwa/ Kalwińįstwo/ y Aryańįstwo/ ba y Machometańįstwo. Domow Xiążecych odpadliśmy: Szlachty mało: Paniąt mniey."

them but embitter the one toward the other. You embitter the Ruthenian nation toward the Polish nation, when, by the means discussed in our previous point, you draw us to the Polish faith (as we of Rus' commonly say). On the other hand, you embitter the Polish nation toward the Ruthenian, when you portray us to them as if we, by order of the patriarch, were supposed to treat you, Uniates, forcefully and violently, but to treat the Poles amicably, if they should not hinder us in this in any way, otherwise, to treat them in the same way as the Uniates. This, however, is slander on the patriarch and, what is more, a harmful means of embittering the Polish nation toward the Ruthenian.[11]

This passage discusses the interactions of three confessional groups: Poles (i.e., Catholics), Uniates, and Ruthenians (Orthodox). The embitterment to which Smotryc'kyj refers exists primarily not between any Polish and Ruthenian ethnic groups, but between the Catholic and Orthodox nations. It would appear, moreover, that just as *wiara lacka* refers to the Catholic faith in general, so the terms *naród polski* ("the Polish nation") and *Lachowie* ("the Lachs or Poles") are used in a confessional sense and refer to all the Catholics of the Commonwealth, including what under other circumstances Smotryc'kyj calls the *naród litewski* ("Lithuanian nation").[12]

The following passage from *Verificatia niewinności* (Vilnius, 1621) is of special interest, in that it seems to betray a nascent "Ruthenian nationalism" based on the criterion of "blood":

If they are truly of Rus', as they should and must be: (for he who changes his faith does not immediately also degenerate from his blood: he of the Ruthenian nation who becomes of the Roman faith does not

[11] EP: 30r: "Po wszytkim tym/ pytacie nas nakoniec/ ieżeli to nie o was abo o takich Apostatach mowi Duch ś. przez Salomona/ *Homo apostata, vir inutilis, graditur ore peruerso, annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur, prauo corde machinatur malum, et omni tempore iurgia seminat.* Odpowiadamy: Nie o nas/ ale o was y o wam podobnych: Ktorzy w narodzie Ruskim między nim a Lackim toście są/ co nieprzyiaciel Boży y ludsky/ miedzy Bogiem a człowiekiem: ktorzy nic inszego miedzy niemi nie czynicie/ tylko ieden przeciwko drugiemu iątrzycie. Iątrzycie narod Rusky naprzeciw Polskiemu/ gdy nas w przeszłym punkcie naszym położonymi sposobami/ do wiary Lackiey/ (iako Ruś pospolicie mowiemy/) zaciągacie. Narod zaś Polsky iątrzycie naprzeciwko Ruskiemu/ gdy nas do niego vdaiecie/ iakobyśmy to z roskazania Patriarszego mieli/ abyśmy was Vnitow gwałtem y mocą wszelaką znosili: a Lachom/ ieśliby w tym przeszkody iakiey nie czynili/ łaskawie się stawili: inaczey/ takimże z niemi sposobem iako y z Vnitami/ abyśmy postępowali. Co aczkolwiek na Oyca Patriarchę iest potwarz: Ale narodowi Polskiemu ku Ruskiemu/ szkodliwy roziątrzenia sposob."

[12] See also EP: 29v, JN: 4r, JN: 18r.

immediately also become a Spaniard or an Italian by birth; he remains a noble Ruthenian as before. For it is not faith which makes a Ruthenian a Ruthenian, a Pole a Pole, and a Lithuanian a Lithuanian, but Ruthenian, Polish, and Lithuanian birth and blood); if they are truly of Rus', as they are indeed: (from which nation and blood, by the grace of God almighty, no smaller a number than from the other two member nations has been honored with the senatorial office at the side of God's anointed, our gracious Lord King. Noble Ruthenian blood predominates these days in both the Ecclesiastical and Secular Lithuanian Senates. Noble Ruthenian blood has in its charge these days the invaluable jewels of the Lithuanian Republic, the Mace and the Staff); if, then (to say it for the third time), they are truly of Rus', as they are, then, by God, with what sort of heart are they able to inflict such a hideous blot on their nation, which has always been faithful, pure, and has never and in no way been suspect to their gracious lords, the gracious Kings of Poland and the Grand Dukes of Lithuania; with what sort of ears can they stand to hear such dreadful infamy which threatens to destroy the health as well as the integrity of their noble nation.[13]

Even here confessional factors play a great role, if not the greatest role, in the determination of "nationality." The concept of "blood" is used to refer to an ethnic community which is also a religious community. Rus' and Ruthenians are characterized by their Orthodoxy, Spaniards and Italians by their Catholicism. Smotryc'kyj's appeal to ties of "blood" derives in this passage from the fact that his addressees are converts from Ruthenian Orthodoxy to the Catholic or Uniate churches. These converts he elsewhere terms "apostates"—apostates obviously from the Orthodox church,

[13] VN:60r—60v: "Ieśli są prawdziwa Ruś/ iakoż maią być y muszą: (bo nie zaraz y ze krwie się ten wyradza/ kto się w Wierze odmienia: nie iuż kto z Ruskiego Narodu Rzymskiey wiary zostaie/ zaraz y z vrodzenia Hiszpanem albo Włochem zostawa/ Rusin Szlachetny po staremu. Nie wiara abowiem Rusina Rusinem/ Polaka Polakiem/ Litwina Litwinem czyni: ale vrodzenia y krew Ruska/ Polska/ y Litewska:) Ieśli tedy są prawdziwa Ruś/ iakoż są: (ktorego narodu y krwie/ y przy boku Pomazańca Bożego Kr. P. naszego M. Senatorskim Dostoieństwem vczczony/ z łaski Boga wszechmogącego nie podleysza niż inszych/ do tego należnych dwu Narodow liczba. Ruska przezacna krew temi czasy w Senacie Litewskim Duchownym y swietskim przodkuie. Ruska przezacna krew/ o tych czasiech w powierzeniu swym nieocenione Rzeczyposp. Litewskiey kleynoty ma/ Pieczęć/ y Buławę.) Ieśli tedy są prawdziwa Ruś/ że y po trzecie rzeczemy/ iakoż są: iakim prze Bog sercem na zawżdy wiernym/ czystym y nigdy niwczym Krolom Ich M. Polskim/ y Wielkim Xiążętom Lit. Panom swoim M. niepodeyźrzanym narodzie swoim tę tak szkaradą zmazę ponosić mogą: Iakiemi vszyma tę przeraźliwą/ zdrowie oraz vczciwe Narodu swego zacnego/ na vpad kanceruiąc hańbę słyszeć znoszą."

but also from the Ruthenian nation.[14] Smotryc'kyj was appealing to and trying to claim (or reclaim) for the Ruthenian nation such illustrious "expatriates" as the Sapieha, Chodkiewicz (Xodkevyč), Tyszkiewicz, Czartoryski, and Wiśniowiecki (Vyšnevec'kyj) families.[15]

The range of meanings of the word *naród* and the close identification of the *naród ruski* with the members of the *cerkiew ruska* ("Ruthenian church") can best be seen in Smotryc'kyj's discussion of the place of the Ruthenian nation within the Polish Commonwealth. Consider, for example, the following passage from *Justificatia niewinności* (Vilnius, 1623):

> In exchange for these above-named honest deeds and victorious feats of arms rendered to their Lords, the Grand Dukes, and to the gracious Kings of Poland, our noble Ruthenian nation has been granted the liberty to sit beside their graces in the senatorial office, equally with the [other] two nations, the Polish and the Lithuanian, to give counsel concerning the good of their states and of the Fatherland, and to enjoy all the dignities, prerogatives, the call to office, the freedoms, rights and liberties of the Polish Kingdom.[16]

In such cases the term *naród polski* generally refers to the Catholic citizens of the Polish Crown, while *naród litewski* refers to the Catholic citizens of the Grand Duchy. *Naród ruski* then refers to the Orthodox citizens of the Commonwealth as a whole.

In other passages Smotryc'kyj shifted the emphasis from the political-administrative autonomy of the *narody polski y litewski* ("the Polish and Lithuanian nations") in their functions as the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to their confessional unity as a part of the single *naród Katholicki / Polski y Litewski* ("the Catholic nation, both Polish and Lithuanian"). In this case the Commonwealth contained only two nations: the Catholic nation formed by Poland and Lithuania, and the Orthodox nation, which was Rus':

[14] See, for example, VN: 59r–59v.

[15] Smotryc'kyj lamented the loss of these and other luminaries of the Ruthenian nation in Th: 15r–15v.

[16] JN: 3v–4r: "Za te pomienione zacnego narodu naszego Ruskiego ku Wielkim Xiążętom Panom swoim, Krolom Ich M. Polskim uczciwe zadziały y przeważne odwagi dana iest iego od nich wolność, obok Ich M. zarowno z dwiema narodami Polskim y Litewskim w senatorskiey poważności siadać, y o dobrym państw ich a oyczyzny swey radzić, y ze wszytkich krolestwa Polskiego dostoieństw, praerogatiw, urzędow zawołania, swobod, Praw, y wolności cieszyć się."

What did the Ruthenian church lose that it had these metropolitans consecrated not by the patriarch, but even against the will of the patriarchs and obeyed [a metropolitan] consecrated by the pope? What harm did it do to the rights and freedoms (to which you now lay claim) of the Ruthenian nation and its Orthodox faith? None at all. What can it now harm when the Ruthenian nation withdraws its obedience from the patriarch for many valid and important reasons and creates its own separate archbishop or even patriarch on the model of those above-mentioned nations? This not only will not harm it [the Ruthenian nation], but will bring it great and saving benefits: to wit, this will unite it with the Catholic nation, both Polish and Lithuanian, in faith and love, and thereby will cleanse it of the errors and heresies of your Zizanijs.[17]

In another passage Smotryc'kyj demonstrated that he was well aware of the range of meanings in the term *naród* by writing of the "zgoda y miłość tych dwu albo trzech Narodow/ to iest Wschodniey y Zachodniey Cerkwie w Państwach Oyczyzny naszey" ("the harmony and love of these two or three nations, i.e., of the Eastern and Western churches within the states of our Fatherland" [VN: 63r]).

It is clear, moreover, that in many instances, especially in discussing the "rights, freedoms, and liberties" which belonged to the Ruthenian nation, Smotryc'kyj was referring only to that portion of the nation to which those rights pertained, i.e., to the nobility.[18] Indeed, many of the laudatory epithets used by Smotryc'kyj in referring to the *naród ruski* (e.g., *cny*, *zacny*, *przezacny*, or *szlachetny*) call attention to its noble qualities. One of Smotryc'kyj's major concerns, as shown by his polemical works, was that the Ruthenian nation not lose its integrity or its honor.[19] According to Smotryc'kyj, one of the most deleterious effects of the discord within the Ruthenian nation was the loss of noble families to the

[17] Pa: 31–32: "Coż na tym Cerkwi Ruskiey zbyło/ że tych Metropolitow/ nie tylo nie od Patryarchy/ ale y nad wolą Patryarchow/ sobie poświęcała/ y od Papieża poświęconego słuchała? Co to narodowi Ruskiemu/ y Prawosławney iego Wierze/ Prawom iego y świebodom (co wy sobie teraz pretenduiecie) zaszkodziło? Nic. Co zaszkodzić może y teraz/ gdy się dla wielu/ wielce słusznych y ważnych/ przyczyn/ z posłuszeństwa tamtego vchyli: a przykładem tych oto pomienionych narodow/ swego sobie Archiepiskopa/ abo y Patryarchę vdzielnego vczyni? Nie tylo nic mu to nie zaszkodzi/ ale mu wielkie a zbawienne pożytki z sobą poda/ oto te: ziednoczy go z narodem Katholickim/ Polskim y Litewskim w wierze/ y w miłości/ a przez to/ oczyści go od tych błędow y Hereziy/ Zyzaniow twoich."

[18] On the rights and privileges of the Ruthenian nation see: VN: 59v, VN: 61r–61v, JN: 3v–7r, OV: 14–15, Pa: 50.

[19] See VN: 59v–61r.

Latin church or to the various heterodox groups.[20] On several occasions, moreover, Smotryc'kyj insisted on his own noble origins.[21]

Terms that in the nineteenth century became identified with national units, such as *Litwa* ("Lithuanian"), *Biała Ruś* ("Belorussia"), and *Ukraina* ("the Ukraine"), were used by Smotryc'kyj in a jurisdictional or geographical sense. Thus he was able to speak of members of the *naród ruski* who resided in each of these areas. Consider, for example, Smotryc'kyj's concern that the controversy over the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620 not harm the reputation of the Ruthenian nation in "Lithuania" and "White Russia."[22]

Whether Smotryc'kyj used the term *Ukraina* in an absolute or relative sense (i.e., as the name of a specific geographical area or as the "Ukraine," or borderlands, of other areas), it is clear that its meaning, as well as that of *Biała Ruś*, was geographical and not national. It is perhaps significant in this regard that in referring to the inhabitants of the area Smotryc'kyj uses the adjectival form more often than the proper noun. The adjectival form of *Ukraina*, moreover, is *ukrainny*, not *ukraiński*, the term used in modern Polish to refer to the Ukrainian nation. Consider the following example from *Elenchus pism uszczypliwych* (Vilnius, 1622):

But in the words of you our apostates, who shamelessly and publicly called forth and announced from your pulpit, not only were those of the Rus' people who were not subject to your archapostate in Vilnius condemned as traitors, but all the rest as well, who did not obey his colleagues throughout all the rest of the cities and counties of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and White Russia. We also declare this sentiment to be found in the words of the protestations drawn up and entered into the books of the court of Bracław under an assumed name by an apostate from Połock, in which certain entire White Russian counties and entire cities, the

[20] See, for example, Th: 15r–15v, VN: 52v, Ap: 94, Pa: 49, Pa: 53–54, Pa: 66, Pa: 92, Ex: 100r.

[21] See EP: 29v–30r, OV: 109–110.

[22] Cf. the title page to Smotryc'kyj's polemical work of 1621: Verificatia niewinności y omylnych po wszytkiey Litwie y Białey Rusi rozsianych/ żywot y vczciwe cnego Narodu Ruskiego o vpad przyprawić zrządzonych Nowin/ pod Młściwą Pańską y Oycowska nawyższey y pierwszey po Panu Bogu Narodu tego zacnego Zwierzchności/ y brzegu wszelkiey Sprawiedliwości obroną/ poddane Chrześciańskie vprzątnienie.

nobility of the Ukraine (*Szlachta Ukrainna*) and the brotherhood of Vilnius are accused of the same treason.[23]

Moreover, the phrase *Ruś Wileńska* clearly signified for Smotryc'kyj the inhabitants of Vilnius who were born into the *cerkiew ruska*:

After listening to the morning church service, almost all the Rus' people of Vilnius (for you [the Uniates], also having gathered in all [you could], caused empty Orthodox churches at the main service) would go to the Protestant church for the sermon. . . .The Rus' people also used to go to the Roman church in Vilnius; they would even go to the Protestant church; in many cities they go there even now, but not led astray by love of the rite, rather partially for the spectacle, partially *curiositatis gratia*, no less, too, on account of the organ, which the populace, the simple people are commonly used to doing.[24]

Nor should the *naród ruski* be identified or connected in any way with Muscovy. Smotryc'kyj and many of his contemporaries made a strict distinction between the terms *naród ruski* and *naród moskiewski* ("Muscovite nation"). To consider just one example, in the following passage from *Exaethesis* (Lviv, 1629) Smotryc'kyj specifically opposed the two peoples:

There used to be riches in our Ruthenian nation; there are even now in the Muscovite nation. The Lord God, however, did not allow schools to be raised either here among us, or there in Muscovy.[25]

In fact, in Smotryc'kyj's usage the terms *ruski*, *ruskij*, *rosieyski*, *rossijski*, *Ruś*, *Rossystwo*, *Rossia*, *rossiacus*, and *ruthenus* all pertain to

[23] EP:6r–6v: "Ale w słowiech was Apostatow naszych: ktorzyscie bez żadnego wstydu *publice* z kazalnice swey woływali y głosili/ nie tę tylko Ruś/ ktora w Wilnie Archiapostacie waszemu nie podległa/ ale y insza wszytka/ ktora iego *Collegow*/ po inszych wszytkich Wiel. X. Lit. y Białey Rusi miastach y powiatach nie słuchała/ za zdraycy iest osadzoną. Szukać tey *reflexiey* vkazuiemy y w słowach Protestaciy/ przez Apostatę Połockiego pod cudzym imieniem naczynionych/ y do Xiąg Grodu Bracławskiego podanych: w ktorych tęż zdradę wkłada na całe niektore Powiaty Biało Ruskie/ y na całe miasta/ na Szlachtę Vkrainną: y na Bratstwo Wileńskie."

[24] EP:38v–39r: "[. . .] Ruś Wileńska wysłuchąwszy raney służby Bożey/ na kazanie mal nie wszytka (bo wy też wszytkę zagarnąwszy/ puste Cerkwie przy wielkiey służbie Bożey vczyniliście) do Zboru na kazanie chodzywała [. . .] Chodzywała Ruś do Kościoła Rzymskiego/ w Wilnie/ chodzywała y do Zboru: chodzi po wielu miastach y teraz: ale nie miłością nabożeństwa vwiedziona/ tylko częścią dla widoku/ częścią *curiositatis gratia*: nie mniey też y dla Organow: co pospolicie gmin/ lud prosty czynić zwykł."

[25] Ex:100r–100v: "Były dostatki w Narodzie naszym Ruskim; Są y teraz w Moskiewskim; Szkołom iednak podniesionym być/ ni tu v nas/ ni tam w Moskwie/ P. Bog nie zezwolił." Cf. also the texts cited in Korduba 1933:42–50.

the *naród ruski* alone. They are to be considered distinct from the terms *moskiewski*, *Moskwa*, and *Moschovia*, which pertain to the *naród moskiewski*.

Both Rus' and Muscovy, however, were members of the "Slavic nation." Smotryc'kyj expressed by *naród słowieński/ narody słowieńskie* ("the Slavic nation/nations") that confessional and linguistic community which is implied in Riccardo Picchio's term *Slavia orthodoxa*.[26] In referring to the *naród słowieński*, Smotryc'kyj emphasized the supranational community of Orthodox Christians who used the *ięzyk słowieński* ("the Slavonic tongue") in the liturgy.[27] The term *narody słowieńskie* implies a shift in emphasis to the smaller "national" units which make up the *naród słowieński*, all of which used the Slavonic language for liturgical purposes. Let us examine, for instance, Smotryc'kyj's account of an event which took place during his trip to the Holy Lands:

> Though I could have made my offering in the Greek tongue as is usual there, I made a bloodless sacrifice in this the place of our salvation, and in other places, using the Slavonic tongue, to this end: that I make a bloodless sacrifice which entreats and cleanses of sins, of my own intention, for you, my dearest Ruthenian nation, and for all those nations which praise, glorify, and worship their Creator in the Slavonic tongue. I did this on purpose to this good end, that I as a priest might submit and entrust all the Slavic nations to my Lord God in His holy paternal providence, asking His holy kindness that all of us should receive the ONE which, for whatever the reasons, we ask of God the Father through Him, and that He might grant us to praise and glorify the most glorious and most adored name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit as if with one mouth and one heart within His holy Church.[28]

[26] On the communities of *Slavia orthodoxa* and *Slavia romana*, see Picchio 1962, Picchio 1963[a], 1963[b].

[27] See, for example, EU:Vr, OV:90. Cf. also the texts cited in Korduba 1933:54–56.

[28] Ap:6–7: "A przynosiłem na tym zbawienia naszego mieyscu y na inszych bezkrewną ofiarę ięzykiem Słowieńskim/ mogszy zwyczaynym tam ięzykiem ofiarować Graeckim/ w samy koniec ow/ żem za ciebie przenamilszy moy narodzie Ruski y za wszytkie te narody/ ktore ięzykiem Słowieńskim Stworzyciela swego chwalą/ wysławiaią/ y wielbią/ vbłagalnią y grzech oczyszczącą bezkrewną ofiarę z osobliwey mey intentiey przynosił. W ten dobry koniec z vmysłu to czyniłem abym wszytkie Słowieńskie narody oraz P. Bogu memu w święty iego Oycowski Przemysł z części mey Kapłanskiey podał y poruczył/ prosząc iego świętey dobroci/ aby wszytkim nam iakiemi on wie sądami proszone przez niego v Boga Oyca swego IEDNO być/ y iak iednymi vstami y iednem sercem wewnątrz Cerkwie iego świętey Przechwalebne y Przeuwielbione Imię Oyca y Syna/ y S. Ducha chwalić/ y wysławiać/ darować raczył."

The Orthodox Slavs used the term *jazyk* to render both *lingua/glossa* and *gens/ethnos*.[29] We should consider the possibility that in writing for an Orthodox audience, Smotryc'kyj may have used the term *język/jazyk* in the meaning of both the language and the people who speak the language. Whether or not the phrase *język słowieński* is employed in the following passage as an equivalent of *naród słowieński*, it is clear that the nation is defined in part by its "tongue":

He [God] will grant that we of Rus' and all the nations (*narodowie*) of the Slavic tongue (*język*) will find that ONE which we seek. . . .[30]

Similarly, the Ruthenian nation may be defined as that group of Orthodox Christians which, while belonging to the larger confessional and linguistic community of the Slavic nation, is further characterized by the use of the *prostyj jazyk ruskij* ("the vulgar Ruthenian tongue") for less exalted purposes:

And so he who in these times, though he use the nobler, the more beautiful, the more concise, the subtler and richer Slavonic tongue, due to the ignorance of the listeners, was of use to few; now, though he use the baser and more vulgar tongue, he will be necessary and beneficial to many, or rather to all of the Ruthenian tongue (*jazyk*), whatever their abilities.[31]

II

Though later scholarship has drawn a line between Smotryc'kyj's "Orthodox" and "Uniate" works, it is worth noting that in his *Apologia* (Lviv, 1628) Smotryc'kyj himself placed a divide after the early polemical tract entitled *Threnos* (Vilnius 1610). The work is a critique of the Latin church as a whole by a personification of the Eastern church, and it makes use of the more violently anti-Latin arguments common in the Greek and Muscovite literature against the Council of Florence. *Threnos* did much to heighten

[29] See Paszkiewicz 1963: 21–109, Picchio 1972: 38ff.

[30] Ap: 8: "Da/ że my Ruś y wszyscy Słowieńskiego języka narodowie szukane to IEDNO naydziemy." See also Pa: 33.

[31] EU: Vr: "A zatym tot kotoryj tyx časov xot v zacnějšom, penknějšom, zvjaznějšom, suptelnějšom i dostatočnějšom jazyku Slovenskom, pre nesposobnostь sluxačov, nemnohim požitočen byl: teper xot v podlějšom i prostějšom jazyku, mnohim, albo račej i vsěm Ruskoho jazyku, jakokolvek uměetnym, potreben i požitočon byti mohl."

confessional strife in the Ruthenian lands in the early seventeenth century, and it elicited passionate responses from both sides.

In his "Uniate" works Smotryc'kyj claimed that he had undergone a fundamental spiritual crisis in the period immediately following the writing of *Threnos*. Concerning the remaining "Orthodox" works of 1621–1623, on the other hand, which were written in defense of the new Orthodox hierarchy, he was to say:

I will not mention *Verificatia*, its *Obrona*, *Elenchus*, *Justificatia* etc., in which one after the other I said less and less attacking true dogmas and more and more about the less important matters which suddenly came up.[32]

Although Smotryc'kyj's statements as a Uniate about his own previous literary activities should not be accepted without reservation, it is of interest that he was consistently most critical of *Threnos* and much less so of the works he wrote between 1621 and 1623, a period when he occupied one of the highest positions in the Ruthenian Orthodox church.

In certain respects Smotryc'kyj's Orthodox works of 1621–1623 have more in common with the Uniate works of 1628–1629 than with *Threnos*. In all the polemical works, beginning in 1621, he devoted much of his attention to the general state of the Ruthenian nation and to the effect of religious discord on its well-being. A key to an understanding of the motivation behind Smotryc'kyj's conversion may be found in his frequent expressions of concern over the fate of the *naród ruski*. In my opinion, Smotryc'kyj may be described as a "Ruthenian patriot" and a pragmatist. It was of crucial importance to him that the Ruthenian nation be allowed to flourish, and the prime condition for this was that the nation be united. It would then follow that the *naród ruski* would be able to live in peace, to fulfill its duties and enjoy its privileges, secular and ecclesiastic, within the Polish Commonwealth. The lack of unity caused the loss of Ruthenian nobility to other nations, a decline in schooling, and a general backwardness in ecclesiastical affairs. Moreover, it left the Ruthenians open to charges of disturbing the "Golden Peace" of the Commonwealth. I cite here an expression

32 Ap: 105: "nie wspominam verificatiey/ obrony iey/ Elenchu/ Justificatiey/ y tym podobnych. w ktorych iedney po drukiey [sic]/ im daley/ tym rzadszy byłem w następowaniu na dogmata prawdziwe/ szerszy w rzeczach potocznych/ pod te czasy nagle przypadłych."

typical of this concern from Smotryc'kyj's Orthodox *Verificatia niewinności* (Vilnius, 1621):

What sort of spiritual benefit do we receive from this very disorderly and harmful undertaking [i.e., the Union of Brest]? Ruthenian churches on the estates of the Romans have been turned into Latin churches, Uniates into Romans; altars in the cities have been turned into kitchens, pubs and Muslim mosques. There is a shameful disorder in the Church rites; the clergy is in a state of crude boorishness; the schools are neglected; the Slavonic language is despised, the Ruthenian derided; monastic discipline is held in contempt, ecclesiastical laws trampled, the faith made heretical, conscience stupefied. Love has been destroyed; hate has conquered; deceit reigns; calumny has taken power; innocent blood abounds to be shed. What sort of strange spiritual good is this?[33]

Concern for the "spiritual good" (*bonum spirituale/dobro duchowne*) of the Ruthenian nation forms one of the constant themes and overriding concerns of Smotryc'kyj's polemical tracts and of his cultural activities in general. He considered the division of the Ruthenian nation detrimental to its "spiritual good." In several passages from the works of 1621 to 1629, both Orthodox and Uniate, he enumerated various aspects of the *bonum* which were either lacking due to the discord, or which would accrue to the nation from its reunification.[34] Even in the earlier *Threnos* he lamented, here in the name of the entire Eastern church, the loss of prominent Ruthenian families to other confessional groups (cf. Th: 15r–15v). In *Paraenesis* (Cracow, 1629) we find a lengthy discussion of the benefits to be gained, among which were these:

This will unite it [the Ruthenian nation] with the Catholic nation, both Polish and Lithuanian, in faith and love, and thereby will cleanse it of the

[33] VN: 51v: "Co za pożytek nam Duchowny z nieporządnego tego wielce szkodliwego przedsięwzięcia? Cerkwie Ruskie po maiętnościach PP. Rzymian na Kościoły: Vnitowie w Rzymiany: Mieysca Ołtarzowe po miastach/ na Kuchnie/ na Karczmy/ y na Bisurmiańskie Meczyty: Nierząd sromotny w obrzędach Cerkiewnych: Duchowieństwo w hrubiańskiey prostocie: Szkoły zaniedbane: Ięzyk Sławieński wzgardzony/ Ruski naśmiany: Ostrość Zakonnicza zniewazona: Prawa Duchowne podeptane: Wiara ohaeretyczona: Sumnienie zdumiane. Miłość wyniszczona: Nienawiść gorę wyniosła: Fałsz panuie: przyszła do rządu potwarz: Zbywa niewinna krew do rozlania. Co to takie za dziwne dobro Duchowne?"

[34] For a discussion of Smotryc'kyj's endeavors for the "spiritual good" of the Ruthenian nation, see Frick 1983: 106–152. On the loss of noble families see the passages listed in fn. 20. On the ecclesiastical and cultural state of the divided Rus', see also VN: 51v–53r, OV: 106, OV: 125–126, Ap: 127–129, Pa: 31–34, Pa: 94–95, Ex: 11v–12r, Ex: 99v–101v.

errors and heresies of your Zizanijs. It will raise schools for it, build seminaries, provide the churches with good preachers and confessors, set in order the monasteries, publish a catechism of an accordant confession, correct the songs and melodies, revise the church books and send them to be printed, once they have been checked.[35]

We may add to this list the concern for the dignity of the Slavonic and Ruthenian languages expressed in the earlier passage from *Verificatia niewinności*.

Several aspects of this *dobro duchowne* would seem to have concerned Smotryc'kyj more than others. First and foremost was his interest in the founding of Ruthenian schools. Indeed, the presence of schools would seem to be one of the prime conditions in his view for the attainment of the other spiritual *bona*:

There used to be riches in our Ruthenian nation; there are even now in the Muscovite nation. The Lord God, however, did not allow schools to be raised either here among us, nor there in Muscovy. And wherever anything is undertaken to raise them, it smokes but does not burn. The children who go to them receive only this benefit, that they grow up from calves into oxen. Schools are the granaries of the church. They enrich the cities, towns, and villages with wise men, with capable seminarists, with sagacious priests, with learned preachers. The church without schools is like a body without a soul.[36]

Smotryc'kyj has been characterized by many scholars, both Uniate and Orthodox, as one of the most learned men of the Ruthenian nation in his times. Nearly all studies have placed great emphasis on his schooling at the Orthodox school of Ostrih, the Jesuit Academy of Vilnius, and various academies and universities of Protestant Germany. Though less is known of Smotryc'kyj's

[35] Pa: 31–32: "Ziednoczy go z narodem Katholickim/ Polskim y Litewskim// w wierze/ y w miłości/ a przez to oczyści go od tych błędow y Hereziy/ Zyzaniow twoich. Szkoły iemu podniesie: Seminarya pobuduie: Cerkwie dobrymi Kaznodzieiami y Spowiednikami opatrzy: Monastery sporządzi: Katechizm zgodnego wyznania wyda: Spiewanie y melodye sprawi: Księgi Cerkiewne zrewiduie/ y do druku przeyźrzane poda." Smotryc'kyj plays on the meaning of "Zyzanij" here, which refers both to the brothers Stefan and Lavrentij and to the sowers of "zizania" (chaff, discord). Cf. Matthew 13: 24–30.

[36] Ex: 100r–100v: "Były dostatki w Narodzie naszym Ruskim; Są y teraz w Moskiewskim; Szkołom iednak podniesionym być/ ni tu v nas/ ni tam w Moskwie/ P. Bog nie zezwolił. y gdziekolwiek co sie w podniesieniu ich zaymuie/ dymi sie/ a nie gore. Dziatki w nich tylko pożytku odnoszą/ że z cieląt wyrastaią, w woły. Szkoły są Żytnicami Cerkwie; te obogacaią Miasta/ Miasteczka/ y wsi w Ludzie mądre/ w Dyaki vmieiętne/ w Duchowniki rostropne/ w Kaznodzieie vczone. Bez szkoł Cerkiew/ iak ciało bez dusze."

own activities as a pedagogue, it is generally assumed that he took an active interest in Ruthenian schooling in the years from 1610 to 1620. Some have supposed that Smotryc'kyj taught in Ostrih or at the Brotherhood school in Vilnius. There are some indications that he may have been rector for a few years of the Brotherhood school in Kiev.[37] His grammar of Church Slavonic grew out of this direct interest in pedagogy, and in the preface to that work he presented his own *ratio studiorum* for the younger students of the Ruthenian nation.

A second major aspect of the "spiritual good" concerned the corpus of works available to the Ruthenian nation for use in worship and devotion. We may divide these works into two groups. Smotryc'kyj saw a need for the publishing of new works which the Ruthenian church had been lacking, as well as the correction and printing (or reprinting) of old church books. Among the new works which Smotryc'kyj called for were: (1) a postil; (2) Lives of the Saints; (3) a catechism; and (4) "spiritual exercises" ("*Exercitia* duchowne zbawienne").[38] All these works were intended to some extent for personal devotion, and their types formed the corpus of favorite vernacular propaganda used in the period of the Counter-Reformation by Protestant and Catholic alike. Smotryc'kyj's call for Orthodox Ruthenian versions of these works indicates a desire to respond in kind to Roman Catholic and heterodox propaganda.

Third, Smotryc'kyj insisted on the importance of well-trained preachers. His own activities in the area of homiletics included the translation into Ruthenian of a Slavonic *Evangelye učitelnoe*, a sort of postil comprising sermons on Gospel themes and traditionally attributed to Patriarch Kalistos (1355–1363), as well as an original contribution to Ruthenian homiletics in the Baroque vein, that is, his funeral oration on the death of Leontius Karpovič. In his encomium, Smotryc'kyj singled out Karpovič's activities as both preacher and teacher for special praise.[39]

Finally, Smotryc'kyj took an active part in the debate on the cultural suitability of the Slavonic language initiated in 1577 by Piotr Skarga with his *O jedności Kościoła Bożego* (*On the unity of God's church*). Smotryc'kyj's *Grammatyky Slavénskyja právilnoe Sýntagma*

[37] See the discussion in Nimčuk 1979: 13–14.
[38] See Pa: 33–34, Ex: 101r.
[39] See KR: 20r–20v.

(Vevis, 1619) is a work fundamental to this "Ruthenian Language Question."[40] He sought to put the Slavonic language, through his codification of it, on a level with Greek and Latin. His pronouncements on the use of the Ruthenian "vulgar tongue" show that he saw the relationship between Slavonic and Ruthenian to be similar to that between Latin and the developing national tongues in humanistic Europe. The Ruthenian vulgar tongue, as a linguistic medium of limited *dignitas*, was to be used in "popular" works such as the postils, catechisms, and homilies Smotryc'kyj wanted to see published.

In view of his constant concern for the spiritual *bona* of the Ruthenian nation, it would seem that matters of dogma were of lesser importance to Smotryc'kyj. Throughout his works of 1621 to 1629, Smotryc'kyj insisted, though at times for different reasons, on the relative insignificance of the discrepancies between the Eastern and the Western rite and between the doctrines of the two churches. Consider, for example, this passage from the "Orthodox" *Obrona verificaciey* (Vilnius, 1621):

Is not the Church of God the name of the Christian and Catholic Church? This you cannot deny. But His Majesty the King, Our Gracious Lord, in a *universal* given to Patriarch Jeremiah (whom we have mentioned here) calls our Ruthenian churches in the obedience of the patriarch, churches of God. Why do you wonder then that in the privilege which he gave us, he sees fit to call us people of the Christian Catholic religion? For if so, you say, he would have been denying that he himself is of the Catholic faith. You are mistaken, Mr. Refuter. I would say that His Majesty the King is better able to define what the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church is than you are. But I do not dare to compare your stupidity to such a high intellect. His Majesty the King is pleased to know that both our sides, the Eastern particular church and the Western, are contained in the Holy Catholic Church, which is one in its internal constitution, in which the particular churches began and to which both have the same right. And since they are united by the unity of mutual love, both sides beg the Lord God that he paternally remove and eliminate what separates them, i.e., whatever has come between them as a difference *non per defectum*, but *per excessum*. And since, as they say, *defectus fide non utitur, excessu fide abutitur*, therefore His Majesty the King finds no defect in our Holy Greek faith, nor in his own Roman faith. Whereby when he is pleased to call us people of the Greek Catholic Christian religion, he does

[40] For a discussion of Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Language Question, see Frick 1983: 153–204.

not deny himself the same Catholic Christian title. Therefore the Refuter is much mistaken in arguing the opposite, not wanting to know that *neque in excessu, neque in defectu* (if he can also say this of his own church) has the Holy Eastern church left the Catholic Church.[41]

Correspondingly, in his "Uniate" works one of Smotryc'kyj's main concerns was to prove to his "schismatic" brethren not that the doctrine of the Western church was right, but that it was not wrong, i.e., that both forms were acceptable and that the Orthodox could unite with Rome without a loss of rights and privileges.[42]

At the beginning of his "Uniate" period a charge was brought against Smotryc'kyj that he wished to divide the nation into some third new sect.[43] This is to say, he was perceived by Uniate and Orthodox alike as neither Uniate nor Orthodox.[44] I would agree. In

[41] OV: 77–78: "Zaź Cerkiew Boża/ nie iest imią Cerkwie Chrześciańskiey y Katholickiey? Przeć nie możesz. Lecz Krol Iego M. Pan nasz M. w Vniwersale Oycu Patriarsze Ieremiaszowi (o ktorym tu wzmiankę czyniliśmy) danym/ Cerkwi nasze Ruskie pod posłuszeństwem Patriarszym będące/ Cerkwiami Bożymi nazywa: coż ci za dziw że y w tym swoim nam danym Przywileiu/ ludźmi nas Relligiey Chrześciańskiey Katholickiey mianować raczy? Boby tak/ mowisz, siebie samego odsądzał wiary Katholickiey. Mylisz się Panie *Redargutorze*. Rzekłbym/ lepiey Krol Iego M. vmie/ co iest iedyna S. Katholicka y Apostolska Cerkiew definiować, niźli ty: ale tępości twey tak wysokiemu rozumowi comparować nie ważę się. Wiedzieć Krol Iego M. raczy/ że nas oboią stronę/ y Wschodnią/ mowiemy/ Cerkiew pomiestną y Zachodnią/ Cerkiew S. Katholicka/ ktora iest iedyna w wnętrznościach swoich/ w ktorych się one zaczęły/ nosi: do ktorey iedno y toż prawo obie maią: a iednością miłości wzaiemnie będąc ziednoczone/ Pana Boga o to z oboiey strony prosząc/ aby on to/ co ie dzieli/ to iest/ co się kolwiek *non per defectum*, ale *per excessum* w rożnicę miedzy nie podało/ oycowsko vprzątnął/ y zniosł. A iż *defectus*, iako mowią, *fide non vtitur, excessu fide abutitur.* Nie nayduie przeto Krol Iego M. *defectu* w świętey wierze naszey Graeckiey/ nie nayduie y w swey Rzymskiey: zaczym gdy nas ludźmi Relligiey Chrześciańskiey Katholickiey Graeckiey nazywać raczy: siebie samego tegoż tytułu Chrześciańskiego Katholickiego nie odsądza: w czym się Redargutor, rzecz przeciwną stanowiąc/ bardzo myli/ niechcąc wiedzieć/ żę *neque in excessu, neque in defectu* (ieśli y o swey toż rzec może) S. Cerkiew Wschodnia z Katholickiey Cerkwie nie wystąpiła."

See also OV: 106, EP: 42r–42v, OV: 93.

[42] See Pa: 49–52, Ap: 133ff.

[43] See Pa: 3–4: "Na List MM. Waszych/ Dnia 13. *Augusti*, Roku tego teraznieyszego 1628. mnie w Kiiowie przez Oyca Iozepha Namiestnika mego oddany; na on czas prze niesposobność mieysca y czasu/ dostatecznie odpisać nie mogszy (w ktorym mię MM. WW. o wyraźną Rezolucyą proszą/ abym vprzątnął tę o sobie suspicyą/ ktora się z sławy w vstach ludzkich noszącey się/ w sercach MM. WW. o mnie vrodziła/ że mię owi vdaią za Vnita; a drudzy/ że coś nowego zamyślam: y tak na trzecią część Ruś rozerwać pokuszam się."

[44] Throughout his career as a churchman Smotryc'kyj's loyalties were considered

his relative indifference to matters of dogma, at least in the works beginning with *Verificatia niewinności* (Vilnius, 1621), Smotryc'kyj was neither Uniate nor Orthodox in the narrow sense of the words. And yet he was always both a "unionizer" and an adherent of the Orthodox tradition of the Eastern church.

If the doctrine of one side suited Smotryc'kyj's purposes as well as that of the other, there remains the question why he felt the need to convert. With the growing tension in the Commonwealth, especially after the violence which led to the martyrdom of St. Josaphat Kuncevič in 1623 and the growing suspicion with which the non-Uniate Ruthenians were viewed, it was unlikely that the Uniates, who had the official support of the government, could be convinced to reunite with the Orthodox, or that a united non-Uniate Ruthenian nation would be treated as tolerantly as in the sixteenth century before the Union of Brest. Moreover, Smotryc'kyj had become more and more suspect among the strictly anti-Latin members of his church. It is likely that Smotryc'kyj realized all this and decided that the Ruthenian nation might best be served from the Uniate side. Though it is impossible to say with certainty why Smotryc'kyj converted, it seems to me that: (1) he himself attributed less, or at least a different, significance to his conversion than have subsequent scholarly studies, and (2) the interests of the Ruthenian nation were uppermost in his mind. One might even doubt whether conversion is the proper term here, since Smotryc'kyj's conversion represented a simple switch of allegiance, which left unchanged many fundamental ideas on the universality of the Church, the place of the Ruthenian nation within the Polish Commonwealth, and the form of the new Ruthenian culture. Therefore, I believe that Smotryc'kyj was sincere and quite accurate in describing his reasons for calling the Kievan Synod of 1628 thus:

> . . . we perceived the great need for a local synod of the entire Ruthenian church, clergy and laity, nobility and burghers. Father Borec'kyj was supposed to send out private letters for its convocation, and they commissioned me to write something whereby everyone could be easily drawn to this greatly needed congress. We did this to this end above all, that we might consider and see among us at this synod in love and peace whether

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uncertain. His dealings with the Uniates were held suspect by the Orthodox in the late 1610s (see OV: 104–106). The Uniates, in turn, demanded that he make a formal, written petition before converting to the Uniate church.

there could be found some way to unite Rus' with Rus', i.e., non-Uniates with Uniates, without violating the rights and privileges of our faith.[45]

III

The texts which I have cited present information on Smotryc'kyj's view of the confessional, linguistic, and political components of the term *naród ruski*. Examined from the confessional point of view, the Ruthenian nation was a subset of Eastern Christianity. At times it was limited in Smotryc'kyj's usage to those who confessed the *wiara ruska* and excluded those who had left the fold. Under other circumstances *naród ruski* referred to all those who were born into a family which was or had once been a part of the *cerkiew ruska*. Furthermore, the Ruthenian nation was a subset of the Slavic nation which was characterized by its use of the Slavonic tongue for sacral purposes. It was distinguished from the other Slavic nations by its use of the "vulgar Ruthenian tongue" for more humble purposes. Finally, in a political sense, the Ruthenian nation was limited to the Ruthenian nobility. Membership in the political Ruthenian nation also implied an allegiance to the "noble nation" (*naród szlachecki*) of the Commonwealth as a whole. It seems, moreover, that Smotryc'kyj shared the view that the Ruthenian nation had entered into a voluntary federation with the Polish and Lithuanian nations and, on the basis of this act, had been granted certain rights and privileges.

Smotryc'kyj's use of humanistic pedagogical and linguistic models in his spiritual program for the *naród ruski* betrays a desire for his nation to participate more actively in the cultural life of the Commonwealth. He sought to provide his nation with teachers and schools, liturgical books and vernacular devotional works, as well as a grammatical codification for its sacral language so that the Ruthenian nation might be in a position to compete in the confessional strife with the Catholic and heterodox peoples of the Commonwealth. What is more, Smotryc'kyj viewed the Ruthenian

[45] Pr: 2v–3r: ". . . vpatrzyliśmy wielką potrzebę Synodu pomiestnego wszytkiey Cerkwie Ruskiey tak z stanu duchownego/ iak y z świetskiego/ zawołania Szlacheckiego y Mieyskiego. Na ktorego zwołanie Ociec Borecki listy miał rozesłać prywatne/ a mnię zlecili to napisać/ przez co by się kożdy łacno dał pociągnąć/ na ten wielce gwałtowney potrzeby ziazd/ stanowić się. A w ten naprzednieyszy koniec/ abyśmy miedzy sobą na tym Synodzie w miłości y w pokoiu/ vważyć y obaczyć mogli/ ieżeli by się mogł iaki sposob/ bez naruszenia wiary naszey Praw y Przywileiow/ wynaleść ziednoczenia Rusi z Rusią: to iest/ nievnitow z Vnitami."

nation as the cultural vanguard of *Slavia orthodoxa* and hoped that through its ties with the other Orthodox Slavic peoples it might be able to lead them to confessional and cultural community with Latin Europe.

Smotryc'kyj's concept of the political, cultural, and confessional communities in which he lived and worked did not change with his conversion from Orthodoxy to the Uniate church. Therefore, in my opinion, it is inaccurate to view the conversion as a betrayal of the interests of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, or Russian nation, as has been accepted in the Orthodox historiographic tradition, or as evidence of a tardily realized Ukrainian or Polish patriotism, as is usual among Uniate and Catholic scholars. Rather, it was a concern for the *bonum spirituale* of the Ruthenian nation which informed Smotryc'kyj's literary and cultural endeavors throughout his life. It seems to me, moreover, that this concern was one of the major considerations leading to his conversion.

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The Jewish Community of Nemyriv in 1648: Their Massacre and Loyalty Oath to the Cossacks*

MORDEKHAI NADAV

The capture of Nemyriv in the province of Bratslav during the 1648 Cossack revolt is described in a number of historical sources. Detailed accounts are given in the *Diarjusz* (diary) of Bogusław Maszkiewicz[1] and in the major Hebrew chronicles *Tsok Haittim* (Stress of the times) by Rabbi Meir ben Shmuel of Shebrshyn (Szczebrzeszyn)[2] and the more well-known *Yeven Metzula* (Deep mire) by Rabbi Natan Nata Hanover of Zasław.[3] The events of June 1648 in Nemyriv are also related in the smaller chronicle *Megillat Eifa* (Scroll of darkness) by Rabbi Shabbetai ben Meir Katz[4] and in a few additional Hebrew sources published by Gurland.[5] Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi's brief account of the events that led

* This is an enlarged and revised version of a paper published under the same title in Hebrew in *Zion* (Jerusalem), 47 (1982):77–82.

1 Bogusław Maszkiewicz, *Diarjusz*, in J. U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników o dawnej Polszcze*, vol. 5 (Lipsk, 1839), pp. 70–71. The story is retold in detail after Maszkiewicz in W. Tomkiewicz, *Jeremi Wiśniowiecki (1612–1651)* (Warsaw, 1938).

2 Meir ben Shmuel of Shebrshyn (Szczebrzeszyn), *Tsok Haittim*, in H. J. Gurland, ed., *Lekorot Hagezerot al Yisrael*, no. 4 (Cracow, 1889–1890), pp. 8–10, 17; the first edition (Cracow, 1649/50) was reproduced in *Sippurei Hagezerot Bishnot taḥ vetat*, published by Hebrew University, Department of the History of the Jewish People (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 4–6, 13.

3 Rabbi Natan Nata Hanover, *Yeven Metzula*, ed. and rev. Israel Halpern (Tel-Aviv, 1966), pp. 37–40, 44–45, 78; the first edition was published in Venice in 1652–53/ A.M. 5413. English translation: *Abyss of Despair*, translated from the Hebrew by Abraham J. Mesch (New York, 1950/ A.M. 5710), pp. 50–53, 59–60. Polish translation: *Bagno Głebokie*, trans. M. Bałaban (Lviv, 1912).

4 Rabbi Shabbetai [ben Meir Katz] Hakohen, *Megillat Eifa*, in *Beit Yisrael bePolin*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1953), p. 252; first published in *Seliḥot veKinot al Gzeirot Tah vetat* (Amsterdam, 1650–51/ A.M. 5411). German translation in *Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Leipzig, 1843), published by J. P. Jordan.

5 H. J. Gurland, *Lekorot Hagezerot al Yisrael*, nos. 1–2, 5 (Cracow, 1887–89). Pamphlet no. 1: "Lamentations" (two), pp. 12–13; "Lamentation" by Rabbi Yom Tov Lipman Heller, pp. 26–27; Pamphlet no. 2: "Tzaar Bat Rabbim" by Rabbi Avraham ben Shmuel Ashkenazi, pp. 13–14 (chronicle); Pamphlet no. 5: "Folk Tales," pp. 34–36. See also *Petah Teshuva* by Rabbi Gavriel Shosburg (Amsterdam, 1650–51/ A.M. 5411).

up to the capture of Nemyriv by the Cossacks and the massacre of the town's Jews is based on Hanover's chronicle in its Polish translation.[6] His description of the recapture of Nemyriv by a Polish regiment under the command of Colonel Baranowski and its subsequent retaking by the Cossacks is based on the *Diarjusz* of Maszkiewicz.[7]

At the time of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising the Jewish community of Nemyriv was large, rich, and cultured. Its beginnings must have dated to the turn of the sixteenth to seventeenth century, for the first document mentioning the community is from the year 1603. During the first half of the seventeenth century the community developed rapidly. It became a focal point for the smaller Jewish settlements that also sprang up in the province. This growth was a result of the colonization of the Ukraine and of the active part of Jews in that process.[8]

After the outbreak of the uprising led by Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, Nemyriv's Jewish community was swelled by people from neighboring communities who sought refuge in its fortress before the advance of the victorious Cossacks.[9] Jews living in that locality believed that the only way they could save themselves from the approaching Cossacks was to stay close to Polish forces commanded by nobles who promised them protection.[10]

[6] Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 8, pt. 2:202; 8, pt. 3:36–37, 40–41. He also refers to Shabbetai [ben Meir Katz] Kohen; ibid., 8, pt. 3:37.

[7] Maszkiewicz, *Diarjusz*.

[8] S. Ettinger, "Jewish Participation in the Colonization of the Ukraine" [in Hebrew], *Zion* 21 (1956):107–142; Ettinger says that the first documentary mention was that in *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, vol. 66, p. 14. Compare, also, the entry in *Słownik Geograficzny*, 16 vols. (Warsaw, 1880–1897), 7 (1886):91, about Nemyriv as a large commercial town before the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising (without any specific reference to the size of its population).

[9] Meir ben Shmuel of Shebrshyn speaks about inhabitants of thirteen cities who fled to Nemyriv and Tulchyn. Rabbi Shabbetai Katz, in his *Megillat Eifa*, says: "Many have fled to Nemyriv, the great and important city that was a leading center for communities [in the region]." These two sources and Hanover state that the number of Jews killed in the June 1648 massacre was 6,000. A number as high as this must have included thousands of people from outside the city. See appendix 1, verse 1; also *Megillat Eifa*, p. 252. The number is repeated in two lamentations in Gurland (fn. 5, above), pp. 13, 14. The entry on Nemyriv in the *Słownik Geograficzny* (fn. 8, above) gives the same number of victims. Hrushevs'kyi thought that the number of victims in Nemyriv was greatly exaggerated: *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, 8, pt. 3:37.

[10] The view of the Soviet Jewish historian S. Ia. Borovoi, who maintained that poor Jews joined the Cossacks against the Poles and the Jewish elite, seems unfounded. The few examples he gives of Jews who converted undoubtedly acted

Nemyriv was the first large center of Jewish population to be captured by the Cossacks. The successful attack took place shortly after the outbreak of the Khmel'nyts'kyi revolt. Jewish sources say that the vast majority of the town's Jews were massacred following the occupation of the town.[11] The capture of Nemyriv and subsequent massacre there left a traumatic mark on the consciousness of Jewish contemporaries in Poland and in Europe. Later generations revered it as an instance of martyrdom for the Sanctification of the Holy Name (*Kiddush Hashem*). The 20th day of the month of Sivan was declared a commemorative day of mourning and fasting, and the practice continued until the beginning of our own century.[12]

The events that took place in Nemyriv during and after the seizure of the town by the Cossacks are vividly and most reliably described by Natan Hanover. An English translation of his account follows.[13]

under duress. See Borovoi's article: "Natsional'no osvoboditel'naia voina ukrainskogo naroda protiv pol'skogo vladychestva i evreiskoe naselenie Ukrainy," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 9 (1940): 117.

[11] See fn. 9. It is possible that the number of victims is exaggerated, but it surely ran into thousands; see appendix 1, verse 1. If we assume that inhabitants of only half (say, seven) of the thirteen communities fled to Nemyriv and Tulchyn (which is what Meir ben Shmuel of Shebrshyn says), the number of Jews who fled to Nemyriv alone could still have been three thousand (7 x 400–500 per community). It is not impossible that the inhabitants of more than seven, or even of all thirteen, communities at first fled to Nemyriv and that those who survived there fled again to Tulchyn and were massacred there. About the difficulties of arriving at an estimate of the number of Jewish victims in the 1648 massacres, and about the contradictions and exaggerations in the sources, cf. I. Shipper in: *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda*, vol. 11 (Moscow, 1914), pp. 114–15, and J. Shatzky, "Historisch Kritischer Areinfeer tzum Yeven Metzula" [in Yiddish], in *Gzeires Tah* (Vilnius, 1938), pp. 83–86 (hereafter Shatsky, "Yeven Metzula"). Compare also Bernard D. Weinryb, "The Hebrew Chronicles on Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Cossack-Polish War," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 2 (June 1977): 174-76, as well as my calculations about the number of victims in Pinsk (*History of the Jews in Pinsk*, fn. 39, below), pp. 98–99. Regarding Nemyriv itself, however, the Jewish sources do not contradict each other; see above, fn. 9.

[12] Hanover, *Yeven Metzula*, p. 78, fn. 4.

[13] See fn. 3, above. The translation has been revised.

THE MASSACRES OF THE HOLY COMMUNITY OF NEMYRIV

The Oppressor Khmel (*Chmiel*),[14] may his name be blotted out, heard that many Jews had gathered in the holy community of Nemyriv, and that they had a great deal of silver and gold with them; and the holy community of Nemyriv was distinguished for its great riches; and it had been a great and important community replete with scholars and scribes, a city full of justice, the abode of righteousness; but now [they have been] murdered.

So Khmel sent a commander,[15] an enemy of the Jews, and about six hundred swordsmen with him against this community and he wrote to the leaders of the city to help them. The city people readily did whatever he asked with all their might, not so much because of their love [of the Cossacks] but because of their hatred of the Jews.

And it came to pass on a Wednesday, the 20th of Sivan,[16] that Cossacks approached the city of Nemyriv. The Jews saw the force from afar and their hearts trembled from fright, though they did not know, as yet, whether they were Polish or Cossack. Nevertheless all the Jews went with their wives and children, with their silver and gold, into the fortress, and locked and barred the doors, prepared to fight them. What did those evildoers, the Cossacks, do? They devised flags like those of the Poles, for there is no way to distinguish between the Polish and the Cossack forces except by their banners. The people of the city were fully aware of this trickery, and [nevertheless] called to the Jews in the fortress: "Open the gates, for this is a Polish force which has come to deliver you from the hands of your enemies, should they come." The Jews who were standing guard on the wall,[17] seeing that the flags were like those of Poland, believed that the people of the city spoke the truth. Immediately they opened the gate. As soon as the gate was opened the Cossacks entered with drawn swords, and the townspeople, too, armed with swords, spears and scythes, and some only with clubs, and they massacred many Jews. Women and young girls were ravished as they [the Cossacks] wished but

[14] Abbreviated from *Chmielnicki*. [The person being referred to was not, in fact, Khmel'nyts'kyi, but Kryvonos; see the author's fn. 15, below — *O. P., ed.*]

[15] According to Kostomarov the commander was Handzha; see M. Kostomarov, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1884), p. 321. Maszkiewicz does not mention him by name. Nor does Hrushevs'kyi or Tomkiewicz (see fn. 1, above). Most probably he was a subordinate of Maksym Kryvonos. A letter of Kryvonos to the Polish general P. Korycki refers to the cruel vengeance of "pan Wiśniowiecki, którego nad bracie nasza w Niemirowie Pohrebyszczu wykonywał, swidrami oczy wywierciec kazał," and warns of forthcoming reaction. See *Dokumenty ob osvoboditelnoi voine ukrainskogo naroda 1648–1654 gg.* (Kiev, 1965), p. 93. See also *Słownik Geograficzny*, vol. 7, p. 92.

[16] 10 June 1648.

[17] We know nothing about the strength of the Polish garrison in the Nemyriv fortress, either from the Hebrew chronicles or from Maszkiewicz.

some of the women and maidens jumped into the moat adjacent to the fortress in order that the uncircumcized should not defile them, and they drowned in the water. Many of them who were able to swim jumped into the water and swam, believing they would escape the slaughter, but the Greeks[18] swam after them with their swords and their scythes and killed them in the water. Some of them shot with their guns into the water, and killed them till the water became red with the blood of the slain.

The head of the rabbinical academy of the Nemyriv community was also there; his name was our master and teacher, Rabbi Jehiel Michel, son of our teacher, Rabbi Eliezer,[19] of blessed memory. He knew the whole Law [written and oral] by heart and was proficient in all worldly knowledge. On the Sabbath before the slaughter he preached and admonished the people that if the enemy should come, God forbid, they should not change their faith, but rather be martyred for the sanctification of His Name. This the holy people did. The rabbi also jumped into the water, believing that he would save himself by swimming, when a Greek seized him and wanted to slay him. The rabbi implored him not to kill him, for which he would compensate him with a great deal of gold and silver. The Greek consented and the rabbi led him to the house where his silver and gold were hidden, and this Cossack released him. The rabbi then left that place with his mother and the two hid in a certain house all that night till the morning dawn.[20]

On the morrow, the 22nd of Sivan, the Greeks searched the houses, suspecting that Jews might be hidden there. The rabbi and his mother then fled to the cemetery. Thus, should they be killed they would receive burial. But it so happened that when they came near the cemetery, a Greek of the townspeople, a shoemaker, pursued the rabbi with club in hand and inflicted wounds on him. The rabbi's mother begged him to kill her instead of her son but the Greek would not listen and proceeded to kill first the rabbi and then the mother, may God avenge their blood. Three days after the massacre the rabbi's wife buried him, for in the town where the slaughter took place the majority of the women were spared, except for the old and feeble, who were killed.[21]

It happened there that a beautiful maiden, of a renowned and wealthy family, had been captured by a certain Cossack, who married her. But, before they had intercourse, she told him with cunning that she possessed a certain magic and that no weapon could harm her. She said to him: "If you do not believe me, just test me. Shoot at me with a gun, and you will

[18] That is, those who profess the Greek Orthodox faith.

[19] For information about him, see *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 9, p. 1313.

[20] This story is also told in *Tsok Haittim*, but not as clearly as it is here. Cf. fn. 12 to appendix 1.

[21] Hanover most probably exaggerated somewhat. The information in *Tsok Haittim* (appendix 1, verse 15) seems more reliable.

see that I will not be harmed." The Cossack, her husband, naively thought she was telling the truth; he shot at her with his gun and she fell and died for the sanctification of the Name, to avoid being defiled by him, may God avenge her blood.[22]

Another instance occurred when a beautiful girl [about to be married] to a Cossack insisted that their marriage take place in a church that stood across a bridge. He granted her request, and with timbrels and flutes, attired in festive garb, led her to the marriage. As soon as they came to the bridge she jumped into the water and was drowned for the sanctification of the Name, may God avenge her blood. These, and many similar events took place, far too numerous to be recorded. The number of the slain and drowned in the holy community of Nemyriv was about six thousand. They perished by all sorts of terrible deaths, as has already been described; may God avenge their blood. Those of the holy community of Nemyriv who escaped the sword fled to the holy community of Tulchyn, for there, outside the city, was a very strong fortress.

Hanover emigrated to Italy in 1652, almost four years after the 1648 pogroms, and he published his chronicle there.[23] His intended audience was an Italian Jewish reading public that had to be persuaded to extend help to him personally,[24] as well as to the surviving Polish Jewish refugees, to their impoverished communities, and to the Four Lands Council.[25] Hanover's account served this purpose well. His well-written and vivid descriptions of individual communities gave the social and political background of the great historical upheaval, and presented a good picture of the calamity that befell Jews in the Ukraine and adjacent regions of Lithuania and Poland. Our concern here is, of course, his description of what happened in Nemyriv.

[22] For folk legends and folk songs about these incidents, see Gurland (fn. 5), pp. 33–37. Shatzky, "Yeven Metzula," pp. 107–109.

[23] The first edition of his *Yeven Metzula* was printed in Venice in A.M. 5413 (between 10 February 1652 and 29 September 1653). About his arrival in Italy and stay there, see J. Israelson "Natan Nata Hanover," *Historishe Shriften fun Yivo*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1929), or the reprinted text in Shatsky, "Yeven Metzula," pp. 101–102.

[24] See the foreword to the English translation (fn. 3, above), p. 25.

[25] About the problem of relief extended by Italian Jewish communities to Polish Jews in the years 1651–1652, see Israel Halperin, "Aid and relief for the Polish communities following the massacres of 1648/49" [in Hebrew], in his *Eastern European Jewry* [in Hebrew], (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 251–62. The study was originally published in *Yitzhak F. Baer Jubilee Volume* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 338–50.

Hanover's account of the events in Nemyriv is quite reliable, despite its minor inaccuracies.[26] Much of his information agrees with the earlier description of the same massacre published in *Tsok Haittim*, which appeared in Cracow between September 1649 and September 1650.[27] A free English translation of the passage about Nemyriv in this versed and rhymed text—written in a flowery, rather artificial biblical Hebrew at times difficult to understand—is given below, in appendix 1 (pp. 388–93).

Additional information on the fate of a contingent of Nemyriv's Jews is given in Maszkiewicz's account. His information must be considered against the background of the military contest between the Cossack forces and the semi-private Polish army of Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, in whose family domain Nemyriv was located.[28] This will help explain the course of events in Nemyriv and why its Jews, after their attempt to redeem themselves failed,[29] decided, under the spiritual leadership of Rabbi Jehiel Michel ben Eliezer, to meet martyrs' deaths. It may also shed some light on happenings in Nemyriv on June 10 that are not mentioned or described clearly in the main Hebrew chronicles or in Jewish historical literature.[30]

[26] Cf., for instance, fn. 38. On the historicity of Hanover's *Yeven Metzula* and its shortcomings, see Jacob Shatzky's appraisal, "Yeven Metzula," pp. 83ff. Hanover's pro-Polish and pro-magnate orientation does not distort his account of the course of events, which is based on personal experience, other written accounts, eyewitness reports, as well as hearsay.

[27] From a comparison of the two sources it is quite certain that Hanover had before him the account in *Tsok Haittim* and followed it at least in part in retelling most of the events. He may also have known the *Megillat Eifa* of Rabbi Shabbetai ben Meir.

[28] Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, one of the mightiest Polish magnates in the Ukraine, was of Ukrainian descent. As a student at the Lviv Jesuit College he converted to Roman Catholicism. His estates covered thousands of square kilometers and included 30 towns and villages, as well as about 50 single estates containing 38,000 farms. His private army fought successfully for some time against the Cossacks. The Hebrew sources describe him as a savior and redeemer. See Tomkiewicz, *Jeremi Wiśniowiecki*, passim, and G. Vernadsky, *Bohdan, Hetman of Ukraine* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 49–54. See also Shatzky, "Yeven Metzula," p. 15ff.; Hanover, *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 42, 59–61, 72–73, 98, etc.; *Tsok Haittim*, ed. Gurland, pp. 18–19, 23–25.

[29] About their unsuccessful efforts to save themselves, see I. Halperin, "Capture and redemption of captives during the time of persecutions in the Ukraine and Lithuania, 1648–1660" [in Hebrew], in his *Eastern European Jewry*, p. 220. Originally published in *Zion* 25 (1960): 17–56.

[30] The historian Yaakov Katz says that during the 1648/49 massacres Polish Jewry faced extermination and conversion, but essentially a situation of martyrdom (*Kiddush Hashem*) had not arisen. From Hanover's account Katz concludes that not in all instances could Jews save themselves by converting to Christianity, and that in

According to Maszkiewicz, the Cossack forces under Maksym Kryvonos first conquered Pohrebyszcze and massacred Polish nobles and Jews there. At about the same time a Cossack force captured Nemyriv.[31] Maszkiewicz reports that Wiśniowiecki counter-attacked with the intention of recapturing Pohrebyszcze and Nemyriv from the rebels and taking revenge on them. Jeremi Wiśniowiecki himself captured Pohrebyszcze and severely punished its town leaders. Meanwhile another unit of his forces, headed by Colonel Baranowski, attacked Nemyriv at night, surprising the Cossacks and killing most of them; only a few Cossacks escaped in the direction of Bratslav. Baranowski, too, severely punished the town leaders who had joined the rebels. Baranowski's force looted the town, holding it for only half a day, and retreated.

Maszkiewicz does not mention the massacre of Nemyriv's Jews following the capture of the town by the Cossacks.[32] He does say, however, that during the brief recapture of Nemyriv by Baranowski a group of Jews joined his detachment, retreated with it, and ultimately succeeded in reaching Pryluki. These Jews had survived by taking an oath of loyalty to the Cossacks at the time that most of Nemyriv's Jews were being massacred. During their retreat with Baranowski's forces they were hunted by Cossacks hiding in the forests, but came to no harm due to the Poles' effective protection.[33] Wiśniowiecki later sent another unit to retake

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most places Jews were massacred along with Poles or coerced to convert. Concerning Nemyriv, Katz carefully states: "Some hope of saving their lives [by converting] may have been given to Nemyriv's Jews (20th of Sivan)," and in a footnote to these words he cites *Tsok Haittim* (appendix 1, verses 15–16) about both conversion and martyrdom; from this citation he concludes that "ordinary" Jews in Nemyriv converted under duress and he even calls them "Anussim" (forced converts). Katz rightly points out that all other Hebrew sources are unclear on this issue; see his "Martyrdom in the Middle Ages and in 1648/49," in *Yitzhak F. Baer Jubilee Volume*, pp. 330, 333, and fns. 52, 66.

[31] Cf. fn. 15.

[32] It is not unusual that non-Jewish sources disregard occurrences in the Jewish camp and Jewish sources disregard occurrences in the non-Jewish camps. Cf. Halperin, "Capture and redemption," pp. 219–20 and fn. 46. Note also Frank E. Sysyn's observation that "each group in the fragmented society in the Ukrainian lands wrote about its own fate and ignored that of others," in his article "Seventeenth-Century Views on the Causes of the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5, no. 4 (1981): 447, fn. 36.

[33] In the words of Maszkiewicz: "Skorośmy już wyszli z lasów na pole od Niemirowa w półtory mile dobrej, wysypało sie kozaków niemało z lasów widząc nasz tabor bo sie żydów, żydówek z tego miasta do nas przywiazało, choć kozakom przysiągali byli nieodbiegaćich" (*Diarjusz*, p. 71). Tomkiewicz (*Jeremi Wiśniowiecki*, p. 198) was inexact in speaking about a whole "tabor" (camp-convoy) of Nemyriv's

Nemyriv. It entered the town, held it briefly, and then was overpowered and annihilated by a Cossack force summoned by the town's burghers. Thereafter Nemyriv remained in Cossack hands.

The Hebrew chronicles *Tsok Haittim* and *Yeven Metzula* also describe Wiśniowiecki's counter-attacks on Nemyriv, but they are probably based on hearsay and are sometimes inaccurate.[34]

There is no reason to doubt the veracity of our one Polish source, which was written shortly after the events themselves. Maszkiewicz states clearly that an unknown number of Nemyriv's Jews survived the massacre of June 1648 and then fled the town. Jacob Shatzky was the first Jewish historian to use Maszkiewicz's account pertaining to Nemyriv in a Jewish historical context. But he made no attempt to understand it or even to compare it to the accounts in the Hebrew chronicles.[35] Here we will analyze this evidence, giving special attention to the oath of loyalty sworn by the town's surviving Jews, which is unique in the documentary material pertaining to the 1648 massacres.

The Hebrew sources do not mention any oath of loyalty by Jews to Cossacks in Nemyriv or elsewhere, although they do relate many details about the course of events in Nemyriv and numerous instances of Jews singly or in groups trying to save themselves. Nor does Hrushevs'kyi say anything about Cossacks taking under their protection Jews of Nemyriv who had sworn loyalty to them.[36]

In Hanover's chronicle the account of the Nemyriv massacre ends with the words: "and those who escaped the sword in Nemyriv fled to Tulchyn because there was outside the town a very strong fortress," without any mention about the number or survivors or how they escaped. One of Hanover's remarks seems to

Jews ("cały tabor Żydów niemirowskich"). According to Maszkiewicz, only Jews joined the "tabor" of Baranowski; he does not mention a separate Jewish "tabor."

34 The chronicles do say that Wiśniowiecki sent a detachment to counter-attack in order to recapture the town and to punish the Cossacks for their rebellion and the burghers, his subjects, for joining the rebels. However, they do not mention Jews having been saved during this raid. Cf. *Tsok Haittim*, ed. Gurland, pp. 17–18; *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 59–60.

35 See Shatzky's notes on Nemyriv in his "Yeven Metzula," pp. 149–50. Also see J. S. Hertz's popular book, *The Jews in the Ukraine from the Earliest Times through 1648–49* [in Yiddish] (New York, 1949), pp. 142–43, where this story is included in the account of the Nemyriv massacre. The loyalty oath, however, did not pique his curiosity.

36 Compare Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi*, 8, pt. 3:40–41.

indicate that the Cossacks left many women alive in Nemyriv.[37] There is no indication that Jews who converted to Christianity actually survived.[38]

Different, and no doubt more reliable, is the evidence of Meir ben Shmuel of Shebrszyn. His *Tsok Haittim* says that the Cossacks cruelly killed men, women, and children, but it also implies that they put to death only those who refused to convert. Of these, the very few who survived escaped to Tulchyn, only to face death there. But Meir ben Shmuel also writes: "Many women denied their religion [married the Greeks they have chosen], many Jews broke the Covenant . . . only they remained alive" (full text in appendix 1, pp. 388–93). The meaning of these lines is quite clear: many Jewish women and men agreed, under duress, to convert, and only they survived the pogrom at Nemyriv.

Until now no attention has been given to what conditions the Cossacks and Orthodox burghers imposed upon Jews who agreed to convert to Christianity in order to survive. The Hebrew sources are silent on this question. At least some information can be discerned, however, by comparing several passages in the *Diarjusz* of Maszkiewicz with passages in the Hebrew sources.

One relevant fact is that the Polish king Jan Kazimierz permitted Jews of Pinsk who had converted during the 1648 rebellion to revert to their former religion.[39] The king granted permission, in an

[37] See above, p. 380.

[38] Assuming that Hanover knew the account in *Tsok Haittim* about the Nemyriv massacre, why did he fail to mention instances of the conversion of Nemyriv's Jews, since elsewhere he does mention conversion as a way of escaping mortal danger? We do not have a clear answer, but it may be that he knowingly ignored the conversion of Nemyriv's Jews because they returned to their Jewish faith promptly upon Baranowski's seizure of the town. When Baranowski left Nemyriv he took with him the Jews who had sworn an oath of loyalty to the Cossacks. I believe that these Jews are identical to those who "broke the Covenant." Hanover's disregard for the temporary conversion may also be explained by the conditions prevailing in Italy when his chronicle was published there nearly four years after the events he described. He wanted to influence Italian Jews by describing Nemyriv as a community of martyrs, as Shabbetai Hakohen had done in his chronicle *Megillat Eifa* two years earlier.

[39] *Akty Vilenskoi arkheohraficheskoi kommissii*, vol. 29 (Vilnius, 1902), no. 7, p. 8 (see appendix 2, pp. 393–95); Shatzky, "Yeven Metzula," p. 23; M. Nadav, "History of the Jews of Pinsk," in idem, *History of the Jews in Pinsk, 1506–1880* [in Hebrew], in W. Z. Rabinowitsch, ed., *Pinsk: Historical Volume. History of the Jews of Pinsk, 1506–1941*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Tel Aviv and Haifa, 1973), p. 92. This edict was in fact given to the elders of the Jewish community of Pinsk.

edict issued 2 May 1650,[40] to Jewish men, women, and children who had converted to Orthodox Christianity under duress to return to Judaism if they so wished, and forbade the Orthodox Christians of Pinsk to keep converted Jews forcibly isolated in Christianity. The king ordered that Jews be allowed to return to their homes, and that their property, livelihoods in commerce, and all past rights be reinstated. The wording of the document indicates that the converted Jews had been held under strict supervision for more than eighteen months. They had not been allowed to meet with Jews who began returning to Pinsk from their places of refuge in December 1649, after the danger to them had passed.[41] The edict mentions that many Jews had embraced Ruthenian Christianity, since whole families, although few in number, were saved by agreeing to convert. The edict states explicitly that the Jewish converts of Pinsk had converted partly out of fear and that others were forced to do so ("różnym udręczeniem"). The Orthodox church not only performed the conversion, but also instructed the converts to behave as Christians; hence they were kept in seclusion.

The available evidence about the fate of Nemyriv's Jews indicates that the act of conversion, religious in character, was accompanied by an oath of loyalty that had a political and legal cast.[42] The forcibly converted Jews had to swear the oath because of their new status as Christian burghers. Presumably, the Jews of Pinsk who agreed to convert also took an oath of loyalty to the Cossacks and burghers, and the Pinsk Orthodox church and burghers had a legal hold on them for a year and a half, until the Poles suppressed the Cossack revolt, recaptured Pinsk, and restored Jewish life in the town.[43] Only after Jan Kazimierz issued the edict of 2 May 1648 uprising could the converts legally return to Judaism and rejoin the Jewish community.

The oath sworn by a group of Nemyriv Jews to the Cossacks, promising to remain in the town and to be loyal to them, seems to have complemented the ceremony of conversion with formal entry

[40] Halperin, in his edition of *Yeven Metzula* (fn. 3, above), p. 77, states that it was in May 1649. Shatzky says that it was on 5 May 1649. The date should be accepted as May 2, as explained in my *History of the Jews in Pinsk*.

[41] Nadav, *History of the Jews in Pinsk*, p. 100.

[42] About the medieval practice of burghers swearing an oath of loyalty to their city commune and its social and political significance, see H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities* (Garden City, N. Y.), 1956, p. 143.

[43] Nadav, *History of the Jews in Pinsk*, p. 100.

into the Orthodox burgher community and submission to the rule and authority of the Cossacks. This hypothesis leads us to review the statement in *Tsok Haittim* about the conversion of some of Nemyriv's Jews and that of Maszkiewicz concerning the oath of loyalty. At least some of the town's Jews were given a choice between conversion and death. The majority chose martyrdom, but some agreed to convert and thus survived. The converts had to take an oath of loyalty to the Cossacks, and thus formally to join the burgher class. Under changed circumstances, as in Pinsk, the new converts, who had remained Jews at heart and had not lived as Christians despite the supervision of Cossacks, burghers, and the Orthodox church, fled. One group fled from Pinsk to Pryluki with Baranowski's regiment, where they immediately reembraced Judaism. The number of the converts, or where they finally settled, is not known. It seems that their number was small but not negligible, for the *Tsok Haittim* remarks that many Jews broke the Covenant and the statement is supported by Maszkiewicz. But it is unclear whether these Jews should be identified with the few who escaped the massacre and fled to Tulchyn to meet martyrdom there,[44] as is related in *Tsok Haittim* and *Yeven Metzula.*

The conclusion supported by an analysis of the sources compared here is that a group of Nemyriv's Jews was spared after agreeing to convert to the Orthodox faith. For the first time, we have real evidence about the procedure that followed conversion under duress of groups of Jews during the 1648 Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising. An obligatory Christian oath of loyalty enabled them formally to join burgher society, as happened in Nemyriv. Afterwards the new converts were isolated and held under supervision, most probably to ensure their adherence to the new faith, as happened in Pinsk.

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[44] I now doubt whether I was right in presuming, as I did in the earlier Hebrew version of this article, that these Jews should not be identified with the survivers who fled to Tulchyn, for I have since learned that that there were two localities named Pryluki, one of which might well have been on the route to Tulchyn. See Tomkiewicz, *Jeremi Wiśniowiecki*, map opposite p. 184.

APPENDIX 1

The Massacre of Nemyriv

(From *Tsok Haittim* by Shmuel ben Meir of Shebrshyn)

1.

Hearken, oh Jews, these words:
Outdoors the sword bereaved and indoors—terror;[1]
[Inhabitants of] thirteen cities have gathered:
Important people, elders and youth,
Children and women, girls and boys,
Bridegrooms and brides innumerable,
Rabbis and cantors and scribes of books—
Into Nemyriv and Tulchyn, cities of the rich.

2.

Soon came Greeks,[2] the robbers,
Cossacks and peasants joined into regiments,
and all were of one mind—
To kill all the Jews.
And they[3] fled to the castle awed and frightened.
And the Greeks informed their friends,
Cunningly as they are used to:
"Go to your homes and we shall render unto you benevolence."

3.

As soon as they came to their homes
The enemies came after them
And took from them all their precious things,
And all their beloved treasures
That they found in all their rooms,
And the treasures under the ground;
And they filled their vessels,
And they left, and others came instead of them.

4.

[The burghers] said to the Jews: "Give to us [also].
Why should our part be worse than that of our brethren
Who went out and came before us."
And they [the Jews] said: "They have taken already from us
All that we have ever collected,
And they left us only with our bodies,
Stripped of everything but of our shirts
As you see us with your own eyes."

[1] Following Deut. 32:25.
[2] That is, those who profess the Greek Orthodox faith.
[3] The Jews.

5.

The burghers did not pay attention to their cry,
And did not listen to their plea for mercy,
And asked them in anger:
"Where do you keep engravings of signets?"[4]
And they tortured them cruelly,
And they skinned their flesh,
And tortured them until they died.
Let not God forget their crime.

6.

Elders and scribes with their students,
Pious men, rabbis and their cantors,
All fell into the hands of their enemies,
Stretched out their necks to be butchered
And were killed as martyrs for the Sanctification
of the Holy Name
They gave their souls to death;
Why should they [the Gentiles] ask where is their God?[5]

7.

All this the others saw—
Quickly they left the city,
Went into the water and hid themselves.
Immediately Greeks came after them,
Flying as swiftly as the eagle flies.[6]
The remnants of Israel[7] jumped and drowned,
Died in the water and did not get out.
Nearly six hundred[8] were killed there.

8.

One maiden adorned with jewelry
Was captured by a Cossack.
She asked him to have the marriage ceremony at noon
On the other bank of the river with dances,
With a priest couching between the sheepfold.[9]
When he had led her onto the bridge with cymbals
She jumped and drowned as lead in the water
Not to desecrate the command of God.[10]

[4] Following Exod. 28:11, 28:21.
[5] Ps. 79:10.
[6] Deut. 28:49, Jer. 48:40, 49:22.
[7] Mic. 2:12, Ezek. 11:13.
[8] Hanover, in his *Yeven Metzula*, does not give the number of Jews who drowned.
[9] Following Gen. 49:14.
[10] Also told by Hanover; see above, pp. 380–81.

9.

Nearly six thousand[11] pious men were killed
Holy, righteous as angels.
Benevolent men and community leaders
Before being killed, weakened, were thrown
Into the streets naked and barefoot;
The sun burnt them, they became black as plums;
Tired of hunger, thirst, and wounds
They are stricken with a severe death.

10.

A wicked cobbler[12] looked for
The surviving Saint of Israel,
The learned Rabbi R. Jehiel, son of Rabbi Eliezer.[13]
He wanted to bring on him a cruel death
And not to let him redeem himself with money.
The wicked stained cobbler found him,
He boasted his strength;

11.

A Greek hit him cruelly
With his stick as with a sharp-edged sword,
And said to him: "Give me your hidden treasures."
The rabbi answered that he was already poor;
And he beat him so that people could not recognize him.
The rabbi entreated with tears
To be killed at the Jewish cemetery and to be buried there.
And God will judge [the Gentiles] and
  he will fill [the places] with the dead.[14]

12.

The wicked cobbler rose
And said to the leader:
"For money compensation I shall fullfill the request."
And the rabbi said with a weak voice:
"Here I am like a divorced woman [without means]."
He led him to the graves of the holy town,
Killed him there with his hard sword
and his coreligionists mourned him.

13.

Deeds as theirs have not been heard of.
Girls were raped before the eyes of their fathers,

[11] Compare above, fn. 9 to the text (p. 377).
[12] Compare above, fn. 20 to the text (p. 380). In his account Hanover mentions two persons, one a Ukrainian who received his loot and the other a cobbler who did not. Here the account of *Tsok Haittim* seems to be corrupt.
[13] Cf. fn. 19 to the text (p. 380).
[14] Following Ps. 110:6.

In the bosoms of mothers sons were butchered,
Before husbands they had intercourse with their wives,
Bellies of pregnant women they cut open before them,
Took out the embryos and struck with them their faces,
Cursed them and asked them: "Where is your God?
Let Him come and rescue you from your enemies."

14.

In the town they gathered babies and sucklings,
clean of any sin and pure of our iniquities
As the lily of Sharon and the rose of the valleys,[15] and
Threw them into deep wells.
Bitterly cried the distressed children,
Out of wells several days they cried.
Brethren, shed tears like water,
Maybe God in heaven will have mercy.

15.

Many women denied their religion and
Married the Greeks they had chosen;
Many Jews broke the Covenant,
Did not obey God's commandments and transgressed them.
Forced Jewish converts cared [not to transgress]
But have not sacrificed their souls;
Only they remained alive.

16.

The honest did not escape the destruction,
They reconciled with the stern judgment,
Stretched out their necks to the killing and slaughtering.
Only a handful remained to groan;
Two of a city and one of a family[16]
Fled to Tulchyn, the condemned town,
There they fell into a ditch because of our sins
As we shall tell in sorrow and lament.

17.

The town they destroyed up to its foundations
And killed the Jews living therein.
They hit them a heavy blow
And throughout the length and width of the street,
Spread around are corpses of people killed
For the Sanctification of His Holy Name with much love.
By God created was the circumstance
and they accepted the verdict with love.

[15] Song of Sol. 2:1.
[16] Jer. 3:14.

18.

Heaps of hands and feet,
Half bodies up to the hips,
Ribs, fingers, and intestines,
Heads and knees of children of the Holy Nation,
Portions of sacrifices—breasts and thighs
Thrown around in streets and open places.
The eyes of the man who sees will overflow with tears,
And the ears of the man will tingle.

19.

The wicked, cursed, and ruthless
Have allied themselves with peasants,
Who joined with them
As heroes to come to towns,
And will loot gold and precious stones,
Clothes and dresses and best vessels;
And after them will the villagers loot
The remaining movable property that they find.

20.

Rebels will ambush in each corner,
East and west, north and south,
And nobody from among God's Community[17] will escape.
And after the killing sword [of the Cossacks] bereaved—
The peasants entered the town later[18]
And killed all its crowd
Edomites[19] [Catholics] and Israelites
And they looted cattle innumerable.

21.

When the Greeks came
And killed masses in the town:
Jews, [Catholic] priests, noblemen,
And the governor of the town and defenders;
And burnt synagogues and houses of prayer,
Scrolls of the Law new and old,
And other true holy scriptures
They threw in the mud like stones.

22.

Thousands of Greeks instead of shoes
wrapped their feet with books and parchments,
And tied them with strips of phylacteries,

[17] In Hebrew "*'adath mi mana*," following a phrase in the hymn "*ḥasal Seder Pesaḥ ke-hilkhato*" in the Passover Haggada and Num. 23:10.

[18] This fact is not mentioned by Hanover.

[19] In medieval Hebrew sources "Edomites" refers to Romans or to Catholic Christians in general.

Pieces of phylacteries they threw into heaps,
And walked around in them in the country and its boundaries.
In table clothes they wrapped their babies,
Holy shawls and curtains—
All they turned from sacred to profane.

23.

Who will count all the towns
Around Nemyriv and the villages,
And all those who hid themselves in fields and forests,
In crossroads throughout the places,
Also in caves and tops of mountains
Where innocent Jews found hiding:
Youngsters and maidens, old and young,
All were killed for the Holiness of the Creator of mountains.[20]

APPENDIX 2

Jan Kazimierz's Universal of 2 May 1650 regarding the forcible conversions of Jews to Orthodoxy. Submitted by the Jews of Pinsk for inscription into the Castle court books.*

Лета отъ нароженья Сына Божого тисеча шестьсотъ пятидесятого, месеца Августа пятого дня.

На враде кгродскомъ в замку господарскомъ Пинскомъ, передо мною Юрьемъ Нелюбовичомъ Тукальскимъ, войскимъ и подстаростимъ Пинскимъ, отъ ясне освецоного княжати его милости Альбрыхта Станислава Радивила, княжати на Ольще и Несвежу, канцлера великого князства Литовского, старосты Пинъского, Кгневского и Тухольского установленымъ, постановившысе очевисто, жидове места Пинъского Езеяшъ Якубовичъ и Зельманъ Якубовичъ подали ку актыкованью до книгъ кгродскихъ Пинскихъ листъ его королевской милости имъ жыдомъ Пинскимъ, на речъ в немъ описаную, даний и просили, абы принятъ и до книгъ кгродскихъ Пинскихъ уписанъ былъ; которого вписуючи в книги слово в слове такъ се в собе маетъ:

Jan Kazimierz z łaski Bożey król Polski, ẉielkie xiąże Litewskie, Ruskie, Pruskie, Żmuidzkie, Mazowieckie, Jnflanskie, Smolenskie, Czernihowskie, a Szwedsky, Godsky, Wandalsky dzedziczny król. Wszem w obec każdemu z osobna, komu o tym wiedzieć należy, a mianowicie urzędnikom zamkowym y mieysckim, także y inszym na urzędzie iakim kolwiek będącym oznaymuiemy. Supplikowali nam żydzi poddani nasi, żałosnie

[20] Following Amos 4:13, meaning God.

* Source: *Akty Vilenskoi arkheograficheskoi kommissii*, vol. 29 (Vilnius, 1902), no. 7, p. 8.

uskarżaiąc się, iż pod czas tey woyny kozackiey zabranych wiele osob tak męsczyzn, iako też y białych głow, dzieci żydowskich u niektórych z wiernosei waszych pozostali y z nich niektorzy częścią różnym udręczeniem, a częścią też drudzy z boiazni zdrowia swego ratuiąc na wiare ruską przymuszeni byli y do tego czasu wypuszczeni nie są, a nawet do nich inszych żydow, ktorzy byli z tego uszli niebespieczęstwa, przypuscić nie chciecie, co iż sie dzieie przeciwko wszelkiey słusznosci zwierchnosci naszey, przeto daiemy ten uniwersal nasz do wiernosci waszych, surowo roskazuiąc y to mieć koniecznie chcąc, abyscie tych żydow, żydowek y dzieci ich na ruską wiare mimo dobrowolne pozwolenie ich gwałtownie pokrzszczonych, ktorzy zwłaszcza przy teyże wierze zostać się nie chcą, u siebie nie zatrzymiwali, ale y owszem wolnych do ich domow, dostatkow y handlow wolnych wypuscili y żeby wszyscy, kto im tylko co wziął, powracali przestrzegli, handlow zwyczaynych y pożywienia onym nie bronili y nie przeszkadzali, ale y owszem przy wolnosciach onym zdawna z praw ich y z zwyczaiow służących cale zachowali. Co uczynicie wierność wasza dla łaski naszey y z powinnosei swey. Dan w Warszawie dnia wtorego miesiąca Maia, roku panskiego tysiąc sześćset pięcdziesiątego, panowania naszego Polskiego y Szwedskiego trzeciego roku.

У того листу печать притиснена есть, а подпись руки короля его милости тыми словы: Joannes Kasimirus Rex. А другая подпись руки тыми словы: Remigianus de Piasecno Regens cancełł. Regni. Котоpий листъ до книгъ кгродъскихъ Пинъскихъ есть записанъ.

Translation

[In Ruthenian] In the year one thousand six hundred fifty from the birth of the Son of God, on the fifth day of the month of August.

The Jews of the town of Pinsk, Ezeiash Iakubovych and Zelman Iakubovych, having personally appeared in the chancellery of the castle court, in the royal castle of Pinsk, in front of me, Iurii Neliubovych Tukals'kyi, the tribune (*voiskyi*) and deputy starost of Pinsk, appointed by the Illustrious Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł, prince at Olyka and Nesvizh, chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, starost of Pinsk, Gniew, and Tuchola, have submitted for registration in the books of the castle court in Pinsk a document issued by His Royal Majesty to them, the Jews of Pinsk, concerning what it describes, and have asked that it be accepted and entered into the castle court books of Pinsk. Entered into the books word for word, it contains the following: [In Polish] We, Jan Kazimierz, King of Poland by God's grace, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Samogitia, Mazovia, Livonia, Smolensk, Chernihiv, and the hereditary King of Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, announce to everyone in general and to everyone in particular who should know this, namely, to castle and town officials and to others who hold any office: Jews, our subjects, have applied to us complaining bitterly that during the Cossack war many Jewish people—men, women, and children—who were evacuated have remained with some of you, gentlemen. Some of them were forced into the

Ruthenian faith, partly through various torments and partly out of fear for their well-being, and have not been released to the present time. You are even unwilling to admit to them other Jews who escaped that danger. Since this is happening against any justice and our authority, therefore we are issuing this proclamation to you, gentlemen, severely ordering and absolutely desiring this to happen, that you should not hold with you those Jews, Jewesses, and their children forcibly baptized in the Ruthenian faith against their voluntary consent, particularly those who do not want to remain in that faith, but, on the contrary, you should let them go freely to their homes, property, and free trades; you should warn all those who took anything from them that they should return it; you should not forbid or obstruct their usual trades and livelihoods, but on the contrary, should keep intact the liberties which have served them for a long time by law and custom. This you shall do for our favors and as your duty, gentlemen. Given in Warsaw on the second day of the month of May, A.D. one thousand six hundred and fifty, in the third year of our Polish and Swedish reign.

[In Ruthenian] A seal is stamped on this document and there is a signature in the hand of His Majesty the King in the following words: Joannes Kasimirus Rex. And a signature in another hand in the following words: Remigianus de Piasec[z]no Regens cancell. Regni. This document has been entered into the books of the Pinsk castle court.

Vatican Diplomacy and the Uniates of the Ukraine after the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

LAWRENCE WOLFF

In September 1772, just at the time of the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Giuseppe Garampi came to Warsaw as the new apostolic nuncio. Garampi, thus, was the first Vatican official to confront the accomplished fact of the partition and to appreciate its political and religious implications. The brutal dismemberment of a Catholic kingdom could only be distressing to the nuncio, but Garampi's initial expression of that distress was extremely revealing of the Vatican perspective on the partition. "I don't know how to speak of these things except with great bitterness," wrote Garampi to Rome that September, "but far greater is the bitterness which I feel on account of the irreparable ruin I foresee for the Church."[1] In other words, for Garampi the partition was not so much a Polish tragedy as a Catholic tragedy. Two months later, in a dispatch from the Vatican to Garampi, this weighing of misfortunes was made even more specific. The nuncio was informed of the pope's anxiety over the dangers threatening "the Catholic religion and especially the Greek [Ruthenian] Uniates in the vastness of lands recently occupied by the Russians."[2] From the very beginning the pope in Rome and the nuncio in Warsaw appreciated that the partition was especially relevant to the Uniates.

The reference to "the lands recently occupied by the Russians" was significantly ambiguous inasmuch as it did not distinguish between those lands which Russia had chosen to annex and those occupied by Russian troops but remaining under Polish sovereignty. The former, the lands of Belorussia, had a predominantly Uniate population now destined to live under the rule of Catherine II. In 1772 all of the Commonwealth was under occupation by the armies of the three partitioning powers, but in the Right-Bank Ukraine the

[1] Archivio della Nunziatura di Varsavia (hereafter ANV), Registro 57, Garampi, 23 September 1772. The diplomatic correspondence between the Warsaw nuncio and the Vatican Secretary of State was conducted, for the most part, in Italian. All translations are my own.

[2] ANV 44, Vatican Secretariat of State, 21 November 1772.

Russian military presence was particularly high-handed and cruelly significant for the Uniate church. It was there, ironically, in the still Polish-ruled Ukraine, much more than in Belorussia, that the Uniates suffered the most serious consequences in the aftermath of the first partition. The Ukraine was of strategic importance to Catherine in the wars which she had been fighting simultaneously since 1768 against Ottoman Turkey and the "patriotic" Polish Confederation of Bar. While Haidamak bands perpetrated violent assaults on the Uniates in the Right-Bank Ukraine, Catherine's armies did not hesitate to encourage indigenous Orthodox elements by providing forceful assistance for their proselytizing efforts.

The tribulations of the Uniate church during this period have been recounted by the late nineteenth-century historians Julian Pelesz (Pelesh) and Eduard Likowski. Pelesz deplored "the hellish arts of Catherine,"[3] while Likowski lamented "the unheard-of oppression and persecution" and described how the Russian army imprisoned Uniate priests "almost one on top of another."[4] What Likowski found most striking about these persecutions in the Ukraine, however, was the fact that they took place within the borders of the Catholic Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania.

> When one reads about this, one can scarcely believe one's eyes, that such a thing could be possible and that foreign vagabonds with the help of a foreign government and foreign troops were able to accomplish this in a Catholic land.[5]

Notice that Likowski, although writing a full century after the fact, expressed, perhaps rhetorically, a certain shocked astonishment. Garampi, in 1772, was disturbed and disoriented by the same shocking circumstance of Russian power in Catholic Poland. He himself, traveling from Cracow to Warsaw to take up his post, had been accompanied, despite all his protestations, by a protective guard of Russian soldiers. He had set out from Cracow modestly escorted by fifty "Cossacks," only to discover on the road that there were a hundred grenadiers, a hundred carbineers, and twenty-four huntsmen who had gone ahead, as well as an additional

[3] Julian Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1881), p. 552.
[4] Eduard Likowski, *Geschichte des allmaeligen Verfalls der Unirten Ruthenischen Kirche im XVIII und XIX Jahrhundert*, trans. Apollinaris Tłoczyński, vol. 1 (Posen, 1885), pp. 155 and 158.
[5] Likowski, *Geschichte*, p. 156.

fifty "Cossacks" in the rear.[6] Upon arrival in Warsaw, Garampi could only ask the Vatican to convey official thanks to the Russian commanding officer for such conscientious protection, but the lesson was not lost on the nuncio: the presence of Russia in the Commonwealth, now and in the immediately foreseeable future, was irresistible. The nuncio had to recognize that the Catholic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, though it was to remain nominally independent for the next twenty years, was unable to provide adequate security for the Roman Catholic or Uniate churches.

It was at the Warsaw nunciate that the "unheard-of oppression and persecution" of the Uniates was registered and reported to Rome. By studying Garampi's dispatches it becomes possible to relate the local sufferings of the Uniates in the Ukraine to the broader concerns of the Vatican. This article focuses on the three years which followed the first partition—the years of Garampi's term at the nunciate, the time when the Polish Diet was settling the post-partition order and the time when Russian persecution of the Uniates in the Commonwealth was finally resolved. I begin by identifying Garampi's perspective on the Uniates in 1772, describing his general attitudes towards them and their problems. Next I consider his specifically diplomatic approaches to those problems: his initial attempts to involve the Catholic Habsburgs as a counterweight to Russian influence in the Ukraine, and later his diplomatic scheme to make the Ottoman Empire the guardian of the Uniates. Finally, I examine how the nuncio evaluated the situation in the Ukraine in the context of the political and religious settlements achieved between Russia and the Commonwealth at the close of the Partition Diet in 1775. Throughout, I focus not on the social and religious situation in the Ukraine, but rather on the Uniates as a diplomatic issue. I emphasize the larger questions of how the diplomatic arrangements of the first partition concerned the Uniates in the Ukraine, and how the Vatican integrated ecclesiastical diplomatic concerns into the framework of secular international considerations. My documentary base is Garampi's correspondence with the Vatican Secretariat of State; I studied this correspondence in the Archive of the Warsaw Nunciate, which today forms part of the Vatican Secret Archive in Rome.[7]

[6] ANV 57, Garampi, 2 September 1772.

[7] A few selections from this correspondence have been published in the series *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica* (vols. 6 and 7).

GARAMPI'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE UNIATE CHURCH AND THE RUTHENIAN NATION

Once Catherine put her lover, Stanisław August Poniatowski, on the Polish throne in 1764, she soon began to interfere ever more markedly in the Commonwealth's domestic affairs, especially under the enlightened pretext of protecting non-Catholics. Her eloquent public commitment to religious tolerance did not, however, prevent Ukrainian Orthodox priests, spurred on by the bishop of Pereiaslav, from taking advantage of Russia's new ascendancy in Poland and attempting to convert the Uniates of the Right-Bank Ukraine. After 1768, when Catherine went to war against both the Ottoman Empire and the Polish Confederation of Bar, the presence in the Ukraine of Russian troops, as well as Haidamak bands, intensified the brutality and the success of these attempts. In fact, by an ukaz of 1771, Catherine righteously authorized her troops to protect Orthodox communities from Uniate persecution, and this proved to be encouragement enough for those troops to persecute the Uniates all the more aggressively. Uniate priests were violently pressured to apostatize, and then their parishes were pressured to follow suit; priests who resisted were taken prisoner or chased away, and Orthodox intruders were installed in their places. This program of forced apostasy continued after the partition, and by 1775 Garampi reported to Rome that out of 1,900 former Uniate parishes in the Ukraine, over 1,200 had been taken over by Orthodox "Schismatics."[8]

Garampi came to the nunciate in 1772, right in the middle of this period of losses, and he applied himself in various ways to stemming the tide. He wrote to the Uniate priests imprisoned at Berdychiv to remind them of their great good luck in having been found worthy by God to suffer for the love of Christ; the nuncio

Although my main concern here is the Uniate church as a diplomatic issue, one can go further into the religious situation in the Ukraine during this period by studying documents published in the *Monumenta* and in the *Analecta Ordinis S. Basili Magni*.

In addition to Pelesz and Likowski, one can find valuable background and related material in the volume on Clement XIV in Ludwig Pastor's *History of the Popes*. Also P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1912); Maciej Loret, *Kościół Katolicki a Katarzyna II, 1772–1784* (Cracow and Warsaw, 1910); Michaele Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* (Lviv, 1862); Valerianus Meysztowicz, *De Archivo Nuntiaturae Varsaviensis* (The Vatican, 1944).

8 ANV 59, Garampi, 15 February 1775.

thoughtfully enclosed copies of St. Cyprian's *Exhortation to Martyrdom*.[9] Such high-minded appeals did not prevent Garampi from sending money as well, and he took special care to see tht the wives and children of the imprisoned priests were provided for. He had heard that the Orthodox sometimes sent wives to tempt their husbands to apostatize and thus obtain liberation.[10] Garampi's concern may well have reflected his celibate Roman Catholic suspiciousness of the married Uniate clergy.

Garampi's predominant attitude towards the Uniates was one of pity and concern. If a negative element was intermingled, it was probably a combination of theological suspicion and cultural condescension. With the abolition of the Jesuits in 1773 and the consequent establishment of the famous Polish National Education Commission, Garampi was especially anxious for schools to remedy "the extreme roughness and supine ignorance of the Ruthenian peoples."[11] That this was intended as cultural—as opposed to religious—criticism is clear from the use of the national term "Ruthenian" instead of the religious term "Uniate." Garampi's judgment was certainly not based on any personal acquaintance with the "Ruthenians" (Ukrainians); rather, it presumably reflected the prevailing Polish opinion in Warsaw. The Warsaw nuncios did not simply identify themselves with Polish condescension towards the Ukraine, however. As Italians, they had a sense of cultural superiority broad enough to allow them to condescend to Poles, Ruthenians, and Russians alike. It was Garampi's successor who explicitly formulated the comparison between "these northern countries" (*questi paesi settentrionali*) and "more cultivated nations" (*qualche Nazione piú colta*).[12] The perceived cultural inequality was not between Western and Eastern Europe, but rather between the Mediterranean South and the Slavic North—perhaps because the Italian nuncios invariably found the Polish winter to be the harshest aspect of diplomatic service in Warsaw.

Thus, if Garampi acquired in Warsaw his attitude towards the Ruthenians, it was not out of any special sympathy with the Polish

9 Likowski, *Geschichte*, p. 159.
10 ANV 57, Garampi, 10 March 1773.
11 ANV 58, Garampi, 19 January 1774.
12 ANV 65, Archetti, 23 April 1783.

perspective; in fact, he did not know Polish, and learned what he could about both Poland and the Ukraine by conversing and corresponding in French, Italian, and Latin. His cultural alienation from the "rough Ruthenians" was intensified by the religious difference between Latin and Uniate Catholicism. Indeed, the attribution of "supine ignorance" was at least partly intended as a religious judgment, since theological incomprehension, Garampi believed, made the Uniates virtually incapable of distinguishing their own rites and beliefs from those of the Orthodox. "The people blindly follow their pastors," he wrote, "and ignorance makes them blindly obey Schismatic priests who intrude themselves."[13] This explains Garampi's special concern for education in the Ukraine. Even the Uniate priests, he thought, would be more likely to resist pressures to apostatize if they were better instructed in theology. When in 1773 two great Polish magnate families, the Potocki and the Mniszek, sought from Rome a marital dispensation for a marriage between the two families (actually between two cousins), Garampi urged the Vatican to use the money paid for the dispensation to benefit the Uniates in the Commonwealth. Thus, Polish anticlericals would not be able to accuse the Vatican of profiting at the expense of the national economy, and at the same time something could be done for the Union "which has suffered so much in these recent times."[14] Garampi especially recommended donating the money to a Pontifical College in Vilnius which was said to provide "in the whole Ruthenian nation the only priests who are well instructed and qualified to instruct the people."[15] Thus, Garampi's unflattering image of "the Ruthenian nation"—which he identified absolutely with the Uniate church—made him all the more fearful that it would succumb to the "Schismatics." At the same time, it was that fear which made him especially attentive to Uniate needs.

[13] ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.
[14] ANV 57, Garampi, 7 April 1773.
[15] ANV 58, Garampi, 19 March 1774.

AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA AS DIPLOMATIC ALTERNATIVES

Garampi responded to the Uniate crisis with money and inspirational messages about martyrdom as immediate consolations, and with plans for schools and seminaries as bulwarks for the future. These approaches, however, were not likely to put a halt to the continuing loss of Uniate parishes. Furthermore, Garampi's distance from the Ukraine—cultural and theological, as well as geographical—did not make him ideally qualified for trying to resolve the religious crisis by dealing directly with its local, social aspects. Garampi was an ecclesiastical diplomat, and he recognized that he could help the Uniate church most through diplomacy. This was particularly true in the years after 1772, since the partition demonstrated that all affairs of the Commonwealth were potentially international affairs.

In fact, Garampi's very first reaction to the misfortunes of the Uniates, in October 1772, was to appeal to Vienna. He had spent two months in the Austrian capital that summer, interrupting his journey from Rome to Warsaw, because he was counting on the support of Catholic Austria in helping to defend the Polish church from Russia and Prussia after the partition. Since all three powers had participated in the partition, Garampi reasoned that for Polish affairs in general Austria possessed "a just motive to observe."[16] The argument was a clear demonstration of the sure-footedness with which Rome was adapting itself to the Catholic calamity of the partition of the Commonwealth. The argument was also perfectly designed to suit the rational calculations of diplomatic balance so characteristic of Prince Kaunitz, the Austrian chancellor. Garampi, though an ecclesiastic, was very much a professional diplomat of the eighteenth century. In appealing to the enlightened Kaunitz, he was even ready to invoke slogans of the Enlightenment on behalf of the Uniates, to call for "freedom and security of worship."[17] At the same time, Garampi wrote about the sufferings of the Uniates to Antonio Visconti—the Vienna nuncio and a former Warsaw nuncio—so that the matter might be personally presented to the pious Maria Theresa in those religious terms which would not have moved Prince Kaunitz.

16 ANV 57, Garampi, 24 October 1772.
17 ANV 57, Garampi, 24 October 1772.

Later that winter, in a secret memorandum, Garampi begged Maria Theresa to seek to maintain the laws against apostasy in the Commonwealth, lest their repeal should "inevitably cause the eternal damnation of innumerable souls, both present and future."[18] This was Vatican diplomacy at its absolute frankest—a frankness possible ony when addressing a devout Catholic sovereign—and every word was equally applicable to the situation of the Uniates in the Ukraine. There, too, the issue was one of lost souls and eternal damnation and, therefore, of most fundamental concern to the pope and his diplomatic representatives. When the Vatican reflected upon the presence of Russian troops in the Commonwealth that winter, the military and political implications were overshadowed by the fact that such a presence "could not help resulting in the most deplorable risk of the eternal perdition of many, many Catholics."[19]

Unfortunately, by the spring of 1773, it was all too clear that Maria Theresa, despite dramatic appeals to her conscience, was reluctant to write to Catherine about the Uniates in the Ukraine.[20] This was the beginning of the tremendously disappointing realization in the Vatican and in the Warsaw nunciate that Austria, despite its participation in the partition, was prepared to leave the post-partition Commonwealth to the Russian sphere of influence. Maria Theresa was very willing to protect the Uniates who resided in her own portion of the partition, Galicia or the western Ukrainian lands—by 1774 she had already established a new Uniate seminary in Vienna—but Garampi was unable to involve her as he had hoped to do in the welfare of the rest of the Ukraine.

If the pious Maria Theresa was unwilling to fall in with the Vatican's intentions regarding the Ukraine, it was even more unlikely that her enlightened son and co-ruler, the emperor Joseph II, would be cooperative. Nevertheless, when Joseph toured his newly annexed lands in the autumn of 1773, Garampi offered to go and meet the emperor in Lviv to discuss the affairs of Poland and the Ukraine. In response, Joseph sent the following message to his ambassador in Warsaw, Carl Reviczky:

> As for Monsieur le Nonce, I would see him with pleasure in Lviv if I did not believe it to be more suitable that he should dispense with the painful

18 ANV 57, Garampi, 3 March 1773.
19 ANV 44, Secretariat of State, 9 January 1773.
20 ANV 44, Secretariat of State, 20 March 1773.

voyage. . . . Tell him, however, that I have charged you to employ with the greatest possible fervor the most appropriate means for alleviating the suffering of the oppressed Uniate clergy in the new Russian possessions—with the moderation, however, that the present circumstances require.[21]

The most obviously disturbing aspect of this message was Joseph's polite but unanswerable reluctance to meet with the Warsaw nuncio at all. Similarly disconcerting was the emperor's reference to the necessity for "moderation" in relieving the Uniates. More subtle—but no less disturbing to Garampi—was the emperor's specification of "the new Russian possessions." Was he so indifferent as to be unaware that the immediate crisis was in the Polish-ruled Ukraine? Or was this formulation actually his way of saying that for the Uniates of the Ukraine he would do nothing at all? Garampi was profoundly suspicious of Joseph's commitment to Catholicism in general, and he would one day see all his worst suspicions confirmed; a decade later Garampi, as the Vienna nuncio, would fight to resist the religious reforms of Josephinism.

If Garampi's immediate diplomatic reaction to the situation in the Ukraine was to seek assistance from Austria, he soon recognized that an adequate solution to the problem would not come from that quarter. In December 1772 he made lists of Uniate churches that had been taken over by the Orthodox and of priests who had been expelled or imprisoned. In a dispatch to Rome, however, he predicted that it would be impossible to bring about restitution until after the "pacification" of Poland.[22] This was a euphemistic recognition that the Commonwealth would have to make its peace with the partitioning powers, by formally ratifying its territorial losses and by adopting a government acceptable to Catherine and her ambassador in Warsaw, Otto Magnus Stackelberg. The partition was not complete in 1772, since its formal ramifications were worked out over the next three years, during the Partition Diet of 1773–1775. Garampi was able to foresee this process in 1772, and he recognized that the Vatican had a stake in some sort of definitive settlement of the partition. Only then might Catherine evacuate, or at least restrain, her troops in the Right-Bank Ukraine, and until then Garampi would keep accurate lists of restitutions to be claimed.

21 ANV 58, Garampi, 8 September 1773.
22 ANV 57, Garampi, 5 December 1772.

During the course of the Partition Diet, Garampi continued to act on the assumption that the fate of the Uniates was bound up with the pacification of Poland. In July 1773, as the three powers were just about to present to the Delegation of the Diet the treaties of partition for Polish ratification, Garampi anonymously wrote and had printed a pamphlet entitled *Exposé of the Condition of the Church in the Ukraine*, which was to be circulated in Warsaw and republished in the newspapers. This pamphlet clearly reveals the development of Vatican policy towards the Ukraine and how that policy depended upon the diplomatic settlement of the partition.[23]

In the pamphlet Garampi described the persecution of the Uniates, conjuring up images of "priests bound and garroted," and declared:

> The cries of these unhappy ones resound as far as Warsaw so that the Delegation refuses to yield to the treaties to be concluded with Russia until Baron de Stackelberg promises the release of all these poor unfortunates.[24]

The message was intended for two audiences, one Russian and the other Polish. For the Russian Stackelberg, it was a brash, and not very plausible, bluff—a pretense that the cause of the Uniates was so important to the members of the Delegation that they might actually refuse to ratify the partition. For the Polish members of the Diet, the pamphlet was intended to dramatize the plight of the Uniate church so that they would protest to Stackelberg, even if they could not actually resist him. Above all, there was the clear implication that consent to the partition could and should be bargained for concessions to Catholicism.

Garampi's *Exposé*, however, was more than mere bluff and appeal. To both the Russian and Polish audiences, it presented carefully developed arguments. For instance, the inhabitants of the Ukraine were described thus:

[23] This *Exposé* has been published in the *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica* (vol. 7, pp. 21–26). The date of the document is open to dispute. It was not included in Garampi's correspondence with Rome until 1775, when he claimed to have written it the year before. The contents of the *Exposé*, however, strongly suggest that it was actually written in 1773; there are references to the upcoming treaties (concluded in the fall of 1773) and to the imprisoned Uniate priests (freed, for the most part, at the end of 1773). Therefore, it seems very likely that Garampi himself was simply careless in 1775 when he said he had written the *Exposé* the preceding year; in fact, it must have been two years before.

[24] ANV 59, Garampi, 15 March 1775.

Ignorant and coarse, often rough men, sometimes superstitious, almost always stupid—they are certainly incapable of distinguishing civil from religious obedience. When such a people is won for the Greek Oriental religion, they will confuse the center of their religious state, which will be Petersburg, with that of their political existence, which is the Republic of Poland.[25]

The Vatican's own apprehension about apostasy out of ignorance was here reformulated as a political argument which played upon Polish prejudices and fears: such ignorant people, once converted to the Orthodox church, could never be loyal to the Commonwealth. There was perhaps even a hint that the Ukraine, unless it remained Uniate, would be the first province to go in a new partition.

The pamphlet tactfully proclaimed that Catherine herself was innocent of the persecution of the Uniates; all that had taken place was "contrary to the intentions of Her Imperial Majesty." The use of this title was significant in itself, since at that time the Vatican in official documents still withheld the imperial title from Catherine. It was important that Catherine not find the pamphlet offensive, since one of its central arguments, though phrased as a general reflection, was clearly a direct appeal to the tsarina herself to put an end to the persecutions:

Finally such conduct renders problematic for the centuries to come that tolerance which is so often preached in this century, tolerance which one does not fear to trample under one's feet in lands subject to foreign domination—causing great scandal to the philosophes and showing contempt for those sacred laws which unite the nations.[26]

Catherine had invaded the Commonwealth under the pretext of bringing religious toleration to the non-Catholics—the "Dissidents"—Protestant and Orthodox, and Voltaire had applauded her. Now Garampi cleverly presented the fate of the Uniates as a calculated appeal to Catherine's vanity about her reputation as an enlightened monarch (Stackelberg probably sent a copy of the pamphlet to St. Petersburg). Instead of addressing himself frankly to the piety of Maria Theresa, Garampi was addressing himself slyly to the supposedly enlightened ideals of Catherine, even invoking the philosophes. This shift in emphasis, from one

[25] ANV 59, Garampi, 15 March 1775.
[26] ANV 59, Garampi, 15 March 1775.

empress to the other, paralleled Garampi's growing awareness that Russia, not Austria, now dominated the affairs of the Commonwealth.

In the treaties of partition the Commonwealth renounced "all rights, spiritual as well as civil and political" pertaining to its lost lands.[27] This spiritual renunciation was, for Rome, the most painful part of the partition, but Garampi, after intense diplomatic maneuvering, persuaded Stackelberg to insert a clause in the Russian-Polish treaty whereby the existence of the Catholic church "of both rites" in status quo was guaranteed in the former provinces of the Commonwealth. This might provide some protection for the Uniates of Belorussia—even though Stackelberg deviously weakened the wording of the clause, just before submitting it for signing. As for the Ukraine, it was certainly no coincidence that just after the signing of the treaties, in September 1773, Stackelberg arranged for the liberation of most of the imprisoned Uniate priests in the Ukraine. One must conclude that Stackelberg was not unreceptive to the scheme of reciprocity suggested in Garampi's *Exposé*, namely, the idea that ratification of the treaties should be accompanied by concessions to the Catholic church. The liberated priests, however, were not restored to their parishes; these continued to be occupied by Orthodox intruders. The treaties, after all, did not in themselves conclude the pacification of the Commonwealth; a new government had yet to be established, and the rights of the Dissidents, which Catherine considered to be her own affair, were reserved for regulation by a separate act between Russia and the Commonwealth. The status quo guarantee and the liberation of the priests provided Garampi with only partial confirmation of the connection between the fate of the Uniates and the pacification of the kingdom.

As the Diet continued and Garampi awaited more promising circumstances, he had to make some temporary protective arrangements for the guidance and supervision of the persecuted Uniates. The nuncio's involvement, albeit indirect, was necessitated by the disastrous dispute within the Uniate hierarchy during these years of Orthodox aggression. The hierarchical authority, the Uniate metropolitan Felician Volodkovych, was engaged in bitter contention with his coadjutor and designated successor, the bishop of Lviv, Lev Sheptyts'kyi. Their rivalry for the administration of the

[27] ANV 57, Garampi, 25 August 1773.

metropolitan diocese of the Ukraine had gone so far that Volodkovych was calling upon "Cossack" troops to substitute his own loyal priests for those loyal to Sheptyts'kyi, even while the Russian army was replacing Uniate priests with Orthodox ones.[28] Garampi, trying to avoid taking sides, restricted himself to tactful observations that Volodkovych was perhaps too old to govern the large diocese by himself in such dangerous times.[29] The nuncio soon recognized, however, that the internal dispute left the Uniate church without effective leadership, and he took it upon himself to try to provide some.

Thus it was that in October 1773, just after the ratification of the treaties and the liberation of the priests, Garampi persuaded Maximilian Ryllo, the Uniate bishop of Chełm (referred to as "Vescovo Ruteno" in the nuncio's correspondence), to visit the Ukraine. Since the metropolitan and his coadjutor were so thoroughly embroiled in the contest for leadership, Ryllo was to provide consolation to the "afflicted people."[30] Ryllo traveled throughout the Ukraine for six months, sending Garampi regular reports of his activities. Then, in early May 1774, the nuncio learned that Ryllo had been arrested by forty "Cossacks" under Russian command while he was visiting a Carmelite nunnery. He was detained on the charge of inciting persecution of the Orthodox.[31]

Garampi knew that Ryllo had in fact granted absolution to Uniate priests for apostasies under duress, thus restoring their churches to the Union, but the nuncio decried "the most extremely false principle that the Schismatics are the persecuted ones, and ours the persecutors." Diplomatically he responded by protesting Ryllo's arrest through both Stackelberg and Reviczky and by urging the Diet to do likewise, lest Ryllo be sent to Siberia.[32] The simultaneous appeal to Russia and Austria was perfectly appropriate here, since Ryllo's diocese of Chełm was divided between Austria and Poland by the first partition, and therefore Maria Theresa was entitled to be indignant on his behalf. The dual approach, however, also revealed important developments in Rome's diplomatic perspective since 1772. By 1774 the Vatican was seeking to establish

28 Likowski, *Geschichte*, p. 176.
29 ANV 57, Garampi, 19 December 1772.
30 ANV 58, Garampi, 16 March 1774.
31 Likowski, *Geschichte*, p. 178.
32 ANV 58, Garampi, 4 May 1774.

its own diplomatic connection to Russia through Michele Sagramoso, a knight of Malta. While the Vatican asked Maria Theresa to instruct her Russian ambassador to demand Ryllo's liberation, at the same time Rome tried to put the bishop's cause to Catherine directly through Sagramoso. In Rome there was some concern lest Maria Theresa discover and resent this alternative channel of appeal.[33] In 1772 Garampi had thought he could deal with the Uniate problem through Vienna alone; by 1774 he had a much clearer appreciation of the diplomatic realities of the Polish situation.

This time, as it happened, Maria Theresa's intervention was quite effective, and after two months of detention Ryllo woke up one morning to discover that the Cossacks had simply disappeared. St. Petersburg denied that he had ever been a prisoner, and insisted that the whole story was "merely a Uniate calumny."[34] The full consequences of this incident were not appreciated until five years later, when Ryllo, remembering how he had been treated by the Russian army, refused to go to Russia as Uniate archbishop of Polotsk, thus offending Catherine and jeopardizing the future of the Union in the Russian Empire.

AN APPEAL TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

If Garampi was unhappily forced to recognize the predominance of Russia in Commonwealth affairs, there was in 1774 one diplomatic possibility for reversing that development: Russia might still be defeated in the ongoing Russian-Turkish war. In July 1774, just after Ryllo's release, Garampi became preoccupied with this possibility, which he regarded as the best chance for the Uniates of the Ukraine to recover their losses. He devoted a long and fascinating dispatch to an analysis of this subject and concluded by proposing an extraordinary scheme to the Vatican.

Although the Warsaw nuncio adopted an attitude of unrelenting hostility and distrust towards the Russian "Schismatics," he had no corresponding hatred for the Turkish Muslims. The well-being of Catholicism dictated his diplomatic inclinations, and he did not seem embarrassed to reflect that a Turkish victory "could certainly

33 ANV 45, Secretariat of State, 4 June 1774.
34 ANV 58, Garampi, 23 July 1774.

be very helpful to our church interests."[35] Propriety, however, and an absence of formal channels, prevented the Vatican from making direct contact with the sultan for the furthering of their common interests. Thus it was that Garampi devised an elaborately indirect diplomatic approach: from himself to Pope Clement XIV, from the pope to Cardinal François de Bernis, French ambassador to the Vatican, from Bernis to the French court, and from there to Constantinople. The crucial message which Garampi wanted this extended chain of connections to convey was that of the international diplomatic importance of preserving the Uniate church.[36]

Particularly important was the interrelation of ecclesiastical and secular motivations in this diplomatic chain. The nunciate and the Vatican were, of course, motivated by religious concern for the Uniates, but they knew that the sultan would accept only an argument furthering his own strategic interests. It was at the French court, Garampi believed, that Catholicism and the balance of power might work together to create a link between Rome and Constantinople which would save the Uniates of the Ukraine.

> Beyond religious considerations there are political ones which ought to interest that court in the repair of the ruin that has taken place—and there is the danger that hangs over the Porte if in the future pacification the Schismatics should not be eliminated from that province.[37]

Here "pacification" ostensibly referred to the end of the Russian-Turkish war, but the use of that particular word and its stated relevance to the Ukraine suggested that Garampi saw this peace as very much connected to the pacification of the Commonwealth. In fact, the Ottoman Empire had declared war against Russia in 1768 partly on account of Russian interference in the Commonwealth. Now the Russian-Turkish and Russian-Polish settlements would together determine the political balance in Eastern Europe, and the intersection of those two settlements—geographically and politically—would decide the fate of the Ukraine. At the same time, there was a confluence of religious and diplomatic interests regarding the Ukraine that the Warsaw nuncio perceived and expressed. It was Garampi, with his readiness to go "beyond religious considerations," who developed the political argument to be

[35] ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.
[36] ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.
[37] ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.

transmitted from capital to capital, from Warsaw to Rome to Versailles to Topkapı.

Garampi began his argument by again characterizing the Ruthenians as "rough and ignorant." This time, however, he saw fit to add a third adjective, "ferocious" (*feroci*). This variation in the nuncio's usual set of epithets was not without significance; it intimated that his message would have a military as well as cultural and religious thrust. Starting with a familiar line of reasoning—that "ignorance makes them [the Ruthenians] blindly obey the Schismatic priests who intrude themselves"—he proceeded to add a new twist:

> Now the intention of Russia, in having taken away to date about three-fourths of our churches, is none other than to hold fascinated (*avvinto*), with the tight chain (*stretto vincolo*) of religion, a people of whom it can make use in the event of wars with neighbors, a people capable of every transport and barbarism when one proposes to them a pretext or motive of supposed—and always misunderstood—religion. [38]

Garampi had come to the point: the "rough" and "ferocious" Ruthenians were all too likely to engage in warlike "transports" and "barbarisms" against their neighbors, the Turks. The religious conflict in the Ukraine was interpreted as a purely political phenomenon—with religion no more than a "chain" or "pretext."

Perhaps most interesting is Garampi's use of his own cultural condescension in his diplomatic argument. He believed that because the Ruthenians were uneducated and uncultured, their religion was in danger; now he argued that because they were barbarians, they presented a military threat. Most revealing was his use of the word "avvinto"—fascinated—suggesting that religion could have an hypnotic effect on barbaric peoples. Garampi was virtually appealing to Enlightenment suspicion of the irrational—an appeal presumably intended more for the French than the Turkish audience—and, at least in the case of the Ruthenian Uniates, he was prepared to link religion and primitive irrationality. Just as in the *Exposé* he had gone so far as to invoke the philosophes in support of his case, here, too, he sought to present his own religious concerns in the language of the secular, even anticlerical, ideals of the eighteenth century. In doing so he transcended the tremendous

[38] ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.

difference in values which separated eighteenth-century ecclesiastical and secular diplomacy.

Garampi next proceeded to analyze the significance of the recent partition of Poland for the affairs of the Ukraine:

> So although Russia does not care at all about leaving to the Republic of Poland dominion and sovereignty over the territory of the Ukraine, the inhabitants nonetheless will be, if necessary, like subjects, even more than subjects, of the Moscovite monarchy, capable of turning at any moment against their neighbors.[39]

Here Garampi was insisting on the recognition of that which he himself had so recently and so reluctantly been compelled to recognize: that since the partition Polish sovereignty, especially in the Ukraine, might well be merely formal. His was a realistic and complicated conception: real sovereignty could only be measured by relative might, relative might would affect religious affiliation, and religious affiliation would in turn dramatically influence political identification, with the outcome that the Ruthenians would remain in the Commonwealth and yet be "more than subjects" of Russia. In the *Exposé* Garampi had argued that apostasy would endanger the Commonwealth; now the same argument was presented as a warning to the Ottomans. It was thus that Garampi attempted to create an alignment of political and diplomatic interests to coincide with those of his church.

Garampi went on to relate what the Russian commanding general in Warsaw had "several times confessed to me": that Russian soldiers in battle believed that they were fighting for the Orthodox church, for the Holy Virgin, for St. Nicholas, and for the tsarina. Hence Garampi claimed to be on intimate "confessional" terms with the Russian general, even as he was warning Rome, France, and the Ottoman Empire about the Russian army. His point was simply that as the Warsaw nuncio, he was in a special position for appreciating Russian power. In fact, he wrote as if he possessed special insights into the Russian national character:

> It is a common proverb among the Moscovite people that if there were no God, the Holy Virgin would fill his place; in the absence of the Holy Virgin, St. Nicholas would be God; and finally if he were lacking, then God

[39] ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.

would be the tsarina. With such invocations and names, and with such false religious objectives, they are now fighting against the Turks.[40]

Not only did his Polish experience permit Garampi to consider himself an expert on Russia, but the lessons he had learned were, once again, both religious and diplomatic. Russian soldiers, with their religious veneration of the tsarina, were theologically little better than heathens, and it was precisely that which made them all the more dangerous to the Turks. And if the Uniates apostatized, they, too, would associate God with the tsarina and fight for both.

The nuncio thus translated his religious concerns into diplomatic arguments, but his purpose remained ultimately religious. "It is the most essential interest (*interesse essenzialissimo*) of the Porte," he wrote, "that the Ruthenians of the Ukraine be preserved in the Holy Catholic Union."[41] This argument actually expressed the Vatican's essential interests, but it appealed to those of the Ottoman Empire. The implicit assertion was that these respective interests coincided, in spite of the thoroughly divergent spiritual and secular criteria which seemed to determine them. Garampi furthermore stipulated precisely how this identity of interests was to be acted on. The Vatican was to pressure France to pressure the Ottoman Empire to keep the Ukraine "immune from the influence and protection of the tsarina." This was to be accomplished by insisting that any Russian-Ottoman treaty provide specifically for the restitution of all Uniate churches in the Ukraine.[42] What had not been obtained in the Russian treaty of partition with subjugated Poland the nuncio now hoped to achieve through the still undefeated sultan. The Muslim Ottoman Empire was to substitute for the Catholic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as the protector of the Uniates.

It was an almost staggeringly complicated diplomatic design, revealing not only that the Vatican felt unable to rely any longer on the Commonwealth for the protection of the Uniates, but also that the Uniates were important enough to merit extensive international diplomatic maneuvering. It was Garampi at the Warsaw nunciate who took stock of the situation in the Ukraine and proposed an appropriate strategy to the Vatican. It is impossible to know whether his scheme would have succeeded, whether all the links

40 ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.
41 ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.
42 ANV 58, Garampi, 16 July 1774.

would have held, because two weeks after Garampi prepared his plan the news reached Warsaw that the Ottoman Empire had been decisively defeated and had had to accept the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. Thus the treaty that Garampi had hoped to influence was signed before his plan was even received in Rome, let alone Paris or Constantinople. The Turks were barely able to protect their own immediate national interests, never mind those which Garampi intended to prescribe for them. The nuncio's grand strategy for the defense of the Uniates was shattered.

In Warsaw—where Russian troops celebrated the victory with artillery salvos—Garampi was in a perfect position to register the impact and appreciate the implications of the Russian-Ottoman treaty.

> The unexpected outcome of the Turkish war terrifies (*sbigottisce*) this whole nation, which seemed to have no other resource for upsetting the partition and escaping from Russian slavery (*schiavitú*) except an Ottoman military victory. The nation sees that for all affairs that remain pending here, the Russians will be haughtier than ever—and there is also for me a special motive for sadness regarding the affairs of the Church.[43]

The same Ottoman victory which might have saved the Commonwealth from Russian slavery was also the essential condition for Garampi's plan to save the Uniates. By the same token, that which now "terrified" the Commonwealth also brought "sadness" to the nuncio. Garampi went on to allude specifically to the Uniates, following his general reference to "the affairs of the Church." He hoped that the Russian-Ottoman peace would hasten the Russian evacuation of the Right-Bank Ukraine, and therefore the restitution of the lost Uniate churches, but he was by no means optimistic. After all, what would be the significance of evacuation if the Commonwealth were actually reduced to "Russian slavery"?

For Garampi evacuation eventually became the subject of an international conception still broader than that which had linked the Commonwealth, the Vatican, France, and the Ottoman Empire. There was admittedly something fanciful about the elaborateness of the proposed diplomatic channels and the almost sophistical association of religious and diplomatic interests. The design was thoroughly plausible, however, in comparison with the fantasy which occurred to Garampi the following year, in 1775: the

43 ANV 58, Garampi, 3 August 1774.

Uniates, perhaps, could still be saved, if only Catherine would withdraw her troops from the Commonwealth and send them to America to help George III defeat the Massachusetts minutemen.[44] Garampi's diplomatic imagination was now intercontinental in scope, but he was too ignorant of the American situation and too aware of his scheme's improbability to work out the details. It is interesting only as further evidence of Garampi's approach to the Polish situation. He hoped that develoments in international diplomacy would somehow enable the Vatican to finesse the implications of the partition of the Commonwealth: just as the Ottoman Empire might intercede on behalf of the Uniates, so America might serve to distract Catherine's attentions and armies from the Ukraine.

THE PARTITION DIET AND THE RUSSIAN-POLISH COMMISSION FOR THE UKRAINE

Disappointment with Austria in 1773, followed by the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1774, meant that Garampi could no longer reasonably hope for help from abroad in the rescue of Commonwealth affairs from Russia. Catherine now turned her full attention to the Commonwealth and over the next six months Stackelberg finally expedited the remaining business of the Partition Diet. In March 1775, a month before the end of the Diet, those religious matters purposely omitted from the treaties of partition in 1773 were settled in the promised separate act between the Commonwealth and Russia. Most of the act's articles dealt with the rights of the non-Catholics, that is, the Dissidents. Russia had forced the Commonwealth to grant those rights in 1768, thus provoking the patriotic reaction of the Confederation of Bar and, in turn, the Russian military intervention that had culminated in the partition. It was appropriate that the issue which had served as *casus belli* seven years before should now be resolved in the final month of the Partition Diet; the pacification would then be complete. The rights of the Dissidents affected the Uniate church by protecting the position of the Orthodox, but, in fact, many of the most important rights conceded—admission to the Diet, for instance—were intended more for the Protestants than the Orthodox.

[44] ANV 59, Garampi, 25 October 1775.

Article IX of the separate act, however, addressed itself specifically to the problem of the parishes contested between Uniates and Orthodox in the Ukraine.

The grievances of the Greek Non-Uniates (*Grecs Non-Unis*) against the Greek Uniates (*Grecs Unis*) and reciprocally of the latter against the former are to be examined and decided by a commission of both contracting parties [Poland and Russia] within three months of the conclusion of the present act.[45]

This was not the first time that such a commission had been proposed—one year earlier Garampi had considered and rejected it as an "extremely pernicious idea."[46] The separate act of 1775, however, made the commission into a matter of international agreement between the Commonwealth and Russia. One need only examine Article IX to see why Garampi found it ominous. The Russians, "haughtier than ever" after their victory over the Ottomans, had clearly dictated the wording; the article posed the problem of grievances *against* the Uniates, while the Uniate grievances were merely mentioned "reciprocally."

This article was the most decisive statement on the situation in the Ukraine so far, and yet elements of ambiguity and uncertainty remained. Although the separate act was intended to settle contested religious issues, in the case of the Ukraine it actually left that settlement to the future commission. Although the separate act, in concluding the Russian-Polish treaty of 1773, ought to have defined the legal limits of Russian involvement in the Commonwealth, Article IX virtually institutionalized future Russian interference by establishing a joint Russian-Polish commission. With the end of the Partition Diet, the pacification of the Commonwealth was complete, and yet the problems of the Uniates in the Ukraine seemed to remain unresolved.

Garampi, after all his disappointments, hoped to obtain at least one piece of legislation from the Diet during its final month: an explicit confirmation of the rights and privileges of the Uniates. Such a confirmation, obviously essential for the lands lost to Russia, might have seemed superfluous in the Catholic Commonwealth, but Garampi, by this time, was all too alert to the dangers of Russian influence in the post-partition Commonwealth.

45 ANV 59, Garampi, 15 February 1775.
46 ANV 58, Garampi, 4 May 1774.

If Russia was going to guarantee the rights of the Dissidents against Polish persecution, then the Commonwealth could certainly guarantee the rights of the Uniates in anticipation of Russian interference. Garampi recirculated his *Exposé* among members of the Diet and did his best to rally them for action. Nevertheless, after two years in session, the members were too "dazed and dead tired" (*storditi e morti dal sonno*) to consider Garampi's proposal at the last minute.[47] That the Poles were too sleepy to support the Uniates was a disturbing sign that Garampi did not fail to note.

The end of the Partition Diet in 1775 also signaled that Garampi's term at the nunciate was drawing to a close. As far back as 1773 the Vatican had announced that he was destined for the more important Vienna nunciate, and Rome was waiting only for a convenient moment in Commonwealth affairs to make the transfer. Garampi remained in Warsaw until the spring of 1776, however—sufficient time for him to establish a definite policy for his successor with regard to the Ukraine.

At the beginning of August 1775, when three months of summer had passed since the conclusion of the Diet, Garampi turned his attention to the matter of the anticipated commission. The international phase of the Polish problem was over for now, and Garampi addressed his concerns to King Stanisław August, and to members of the government. The nuncio was worried about the selection of the Commonwealth's members of the commission. He was concerned that they should be men of "integrity and zeal," that they should receive from the government "appropriate instructions," and that "above all they should be assigned fit stipends." Garampi had already put his finger on the most likely source of danger in a mixed commission of Polish and Russian members in equal number:

> If only one of our commissioners should be less illuminated, less religious, and less incorrupt, it will be enough to unbalance the judgment. As for the Russian commissioners, it is not to be hoped that they will ever speak a word against the interests of their Sovereign. All will certainly be chosen from among the most shrewd and able, all paid with generosity—and one may even suppose that they will also have a fund for corrupting ours.[48]

Notice first Garampi's thoroughness in analyzing the means by

[47] ANV 59, Garampi, 22 March 1775.
[48] ANV 59, Garampi, 9 August 1775.

which Russian influence in the Commonwealth might be turned against the Uniates. Notice also the grudging respect he had acquired after three years in Warsaw for the "shrewd" and "generous" Russians. On the other hand, he seemed to think it not at all unlikely that a Commonwealth commissioner might be seduced away from the Uniate cause; Garampi, after all, had had every opportunity to observe Stackelberg's methods for winning over the delegates at the Partition Diet.

Garampi suspected, too, that the Commonwealth's government, "though generous in so many other expenses, seeks nevertheless to save money in this one."[49] Inadequate stipends, of course, would make the Commonwealth commissioners all the more corruptible. Sleepiness at the Diet had prevented confirmation of the rights of the Uniates, and now stinginess threatened the fate of the contested churches in the Ukraine. Garampi readied his arguments for persuading the king and the government that the Ukraine was worth some expense. "If for our part it is of special interest to the church," he wrote to Rome, "it is of interest also to the state!"[50] The exclamation point emphasized what had become the characteristic feature of Garampi's diplomatic approach: the association of religious and secular interests. Rome, of course, required no convincing, and the Vatican replied with almost equal emphasis:

> May it please the Highest that nothing calamitous or fatal should result from the indolence and interests which reign at that court which should finally open its eyes and see that the affairs of the Uniates are tightly connected to reason of state.[51]

This was precisely what Garampi had been insisting ever since he argued in his *Exposé* that "Schismatic" Ruthenians would be "incapable of distinguishing civil from religious obedience" and that they could never be loyal to the Commonwealth. Now the Vatican urged him to reapply himself with "indefatigable vigilance" to obtaining Polish commissioners of requisite integrity.

Garampi could not, however, in good conscience match indefatigable vigilance with unreserved enthusiasm. The idea of the commission still seemed as pernicious as before. "I have always protested," wrote Garampi to Rome, "and I protest on every occasion,

49 ANV 59, Garampi, 2 August 1775.
50 ANV 59, Garampi, 2 August 1775.
51 ANV 45, Secretariat of State, 26 August 1775.

both in voice and in writing, that I am very far from approving of a mixed commission."[52] Nevertheless, he concerned himself with the selection of commissioners, since the separate act seemed to have made the commission an inevitability. Garampi was even willing to recognize that it might be better than nothing. "Our situation would be a very unhappy one, if no commission were established," he reasoned, "if the Russians did not release any churches and continued to retain all those they have violently occupied till now."[53] Here Garampi was already rehearsing his secular argument for the court, substituting "the Russians" for "the Schismatics" in describing the menace in the Ukraine. At the beginning of August 1775, the commission, however pernicious and corruptible, seemed to be the only way to make any progress whatsoever in restoring to the Uniates their lost churches.

At the end of the month, Garampi reversed himself completely: he decided that it would be best to encourage the suspension of the commission, at least until the Russian troops evacuated the Ukraine. The crucial factor in his reversal was the news from the Ukraine, which Garampi passed on to the Vatican without quite concealing his surprise: "Meanwhile the various populations all by themselves (*da se stesse*) are reuniting with us and pleading for their former pastors."[54] Two months later this had become an unmistakable trend. "In the Ukraine," Garampi wrote, "the populations nevertheless continue to return spontaneously to the Holy Union."[55] Suddenly there was an alternative to the pernicious commission, the thoroughly preferable alternative of spontaneous return to the Union. Furthermore, the three-month period stipulated by the separate act had passed, the commission had not been established, and it no longer seemed inevitable.

Garampi himself left Warsaw forever in the spring of 1776, but his successor, Giovanni Archetti, merely followed his footsteps insofar as the Ukraine was concerned. In July 1776 Archetti reminded Stanisław August that a mixed commission would be "not very decorous for Catholicism" and would be very damaging to the king's sovereign authority in allowing Russian commissioners a role

52 ANV 59, Garampi, 2 August 1775.
53 ANV 59, Garampi, 2 August 1775.
54 ANV 59, Garampi, 30 August 1775.
55 ANV 59, Garampi, 15 November 1775.

in Commonwealth affairs.[56] In October Archetti noted that as long as the "Schismatics" did not violently obstruct the return of the Ruthenians to the Union, "we must defer the commission for as long as possible."[57] These were the themes which Garampi had already initiated in 1775, and, in a way, Archetti's most revealing statement about the affairs of the Ukraine was his confession that he was simply following his predecessor's "traces" (*tracce*). As for the postponed commission, Archetti assured the Vatican that "I have always used the same circumspection and caution observed by my predecessor."[58] Archetti was able to study Garampi's conduct from copies of the latter's dispatches in the archives of the nunciate, the same archives and dispatches which have provided the documentary base of this study. In fact, Garampi, in addition to being a talented diplomat, was also one of the great archivists of the eighteenth century; he had served as prefect of the Vatican Archives in Rome before being posted to Warsaw. His organization of the archives of the Warsaw nunciate made his "traces" very clear and easy to follow. The fact that Archetti followed Garampi's policies confirms that it was the years of Garampi's term, the years from the partition to the end of the Partition Diet, which were crucial in determining the fate of the Uniates in the Ukraine.

* * *

Garampi's sudden change in strategy in 1775—his decision to apply what influence he had not to the selection of commissioners, but to the indefinite deferral of the commission itself—was prompted by the equally sudden reversal of the situation in the Ukraine. The Uniates who had apostatized under pressure during the last decade were reported to be returning to the Union—and the Russian army was not obstructing their return. Garampi was somewhat surprised by this heartening development, and, in characterizing it as "spontaneous," he seemed almost at a loss for a satisfactory explanation. Certainly his own efforts to save the Uniates during the previous three years had been largely disappointing. Maria Theresa had been reluctant to involve herself in Commonwealth affairs, and the Ottoman Empire had gone down to defeat in the Russian-Ottoman war.

56 ANV 60, Archetti, 24 July 1776.
57 ANV 60, Archetti, 20 November 1776.
58 ANV 60, Archetti, 20 November 1776.

Poland had been at first too sleepy to confirm Uniate privileges and then too stingy to promise generous salaries to the commissioners. In 1775 Garampi's perplexity was proportional to his past disappointments; he could not, and did not, attribute to his own efforts the turn-around in the Uniates' situation.

To explain this reversal one must pay attention to timing and chronology. The end of the Partition Diet in the spring was followed by the Uniate recovery that summer. In view of what the Diet had actually done for the Uniates during its final months—the agreement to the pernicious commission, the failure to confirm Uniate privileges—Garampi could scarcely have expected encouraging consequences to follow. The crucial determinant, however, was not any particular thing that the Diet had or had not done during its two years in session, but simply the fact that those sessions were finally over. Garampi had predicted this back in 1772, before the Diet had even convened, when he observed that the restitution of the lost Uniate churches in the Ukraine would have to wait for the pacification of the Commonwealth. During the seemingly interminable course of the Diet, it was all too easy to lose hold of this larger political insight, so that when the Diet concluded in the spring of 1775, Garampi was not immediately struck by the fact that now the pacification was complete. The Commonwealth's territorial losses had been clearly defined and formally ratified, the political forms of the new Russian-dominated Commonwealth government had been established, the Russian-Ottoman war had come to a decisive end, and the controversial rights of the Dissidents had been finally settled. Russian troops and Orthodox priests had converted the Uniates in the Ukraine by exploiting the unclarity and instability of international and political circumstances after 1768; after 1775 there was a relatively clear and stable post-partition order.

That the former Uniates were now permitted to return to the Union suggests that Catherine herself had all along regarded the Uniates of the Ukraine as—figuratively speaking—hostages to be held against the future pacification of the Commonwealth. It was a conception intended to induce acquiescence not only in Rome but also in Warsaw, since—as Garampi most emphatically appreciated—the apostasy of the Uniates was a matter of the utmost political concern to the Commonwealth. The first clear signal that these were indeed the intentions of Russia had come in 1773, when after the ratification of the treaties the Uniate priests were released from detention. The coincidence of timing revealed that the priests

had been literally hostages. If the first step towards the pacification in 1773 was followed by a first step towards alleviating the Uniates' plight, the complete pacification of 1775 was correspondingly followed by the recovery of Uniate churches and the return of whole communities to the Union. This second coincidence, though it puzzled Garampi at the time, must be seen together with the precedent of 1773 as confirmation of the special significance of the Uniates of the Ukraine in Catherine's Polish policy.

Stackelberg's role in the liberation of the priests in 1773 was indicative of what the pacification of the Commonwealth was to mean for the Uniates. That they began to return to the Union in 1775 was most certainly not because the new government was independent of Russia. On the contrary, the post-partition Commonwealth was every bit as dependent as Garampi had feared, but the nature of that dependence, unmistakable after 1775, provided not only a certain stability but also an unambiguous political authority. Everyone knew that Stackelberg was the real master of the Commonwealth; Stanisław August, in his memoirs, compared the Russian ambassador to the Roman proconsuls.[59] Stackelberg had arranged for the liberation of the priests in 1773, and after pacification his "proconsular" position in the Commonwealth enabled him to exercise some control over the Russian troops which remained in the Ukraine. In 1777 and 1778, when Archetti feared tht those troops were once again brutalizing the Uniates, he appealed to Stackelberg, who then wrote to the Russian commanding officers.[60] The sinister irregularities which had been encouraged before 1775 were not tolerated thereafter.

This "proconsulate" was, of course, precisely the "Russian slavery" which Garampi had feared. His diplomatic efforts since 1772 had been directed towards producing some other sort of pacification. He would have much preferred a Commonwealth jointly governed by the Russian and Austrian ambassadors, subject to both Catherine and Maria Theresa. He had hoped for an Ottoman victory to check Russian power in the Commonwealth. On the other hand, Vatican diplomacy had not left itself completely unprepared for the ensuing disappointments. Sagramoso's mission to St. Petersburg had provided an alternative to Austrian channels in the appeals for Ryllo's liberation. Though Garampi might have

59 Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski, *Mémoires*, vol. 2 (Leningrad, 1924), p. 298.

60 ANV 60, Archetti, 15 January 1777; ANV 61, Archetti, 15 April 1778.

privately agreed with Pelesz's historical judgment that the persecution of the Uniates was attributable to the "hellish arts of Catherine," in the nuncio's *Exposé* he prudently pretended to believe that such persecution was "contrary to the intentions of Her Imperial Majesty." At the time of the Pugachev uprising in Russia in 1773, Garampi wrote a letter to Catholics in Russia urging them to remain "tranquil and obedient to the Sovereign"; to Rome he commented that "it would not displease me if this letter were opened and read by the governor of Moscow."[61] In Warsaw the nuncio did his best to maintain amiable relations with the Russian ambassador, and in 1774 the Vatican frankly congratulated Garampi on obtaining the "manifested propensity of Baron Stackelberg."[62] In short, though Garampi would have preferred a diplomatic solution that averted Russian domination of the Commonwealth, his political acumen prepared Vatican diplomacy to adjust to that domination should it prove inevitable.

For Garampi, the essential problem of Russian power in the Commonwealth—whether averted or conciliated—was the potential menace to Catholicism in that kingdom. At the time of the first partition, the situation of the Uniates in the Ukraine illustrated the worst to be feared: Russian soldiers were forcing Uniates to apostatize. Furthermore, there was no escaping the idea that the fate of the Uniate Catholics now might be that of the Roman Catholics later. The reason for Garampi's especially intense concern for the Ukraine was that it seemed to epitomize the religious dilemma inherent in the political situation created by the partition.

Indeed, the most striking aspect of Garampi's approach to the problem of the Uniates was his brilliant appreciation, integration, and manipulation of secular and religious factors. Rome's most fundamental concern for the Ukraine was "the most deplorable risk of the eternal perdition of many, many Catholics." In terms of a strictly religious response, Garampi could not do much more than send St. Cyprian's *Exhortation to Martyrdom* and encourage the Uniate priests to choose martyrdom over perdition. In fact, Garampi's efforts went far beyond those exhortations, bringing into play all the diplomatic and political intricacies of the situation, reformulating the problem in such a way as to transcend the Vatican's essentially religious concerns. He warned the Commonwealth and

61 ANV 58, Garampi, 19 December 1773.
62 ANV 45, Secretariat of State, 5 March 1774.

the Ottoman Empire that the Uniates, if they apostatized, would become "incapable of distinguishing civil from religious obedience," would become "even more than subjects of the Moscovite monarchy." Garampi could even appeal to Kaunitz in the name of "freedom and security of worship," to Catherine in the name of "that tolerance which is so often preached in this century." That he should have invoked the ideals of the Enlightenment on behalf of the Uniates indicates the extent to which his arguments did indeed transcend the fundamental Vatican concern about eternal perdition. Religion, politics, and diplomacy were cunningly intermingled in his efforts to protect the Uniates from Catherine.

Garampi misjudged Catherine: he underestimated her power, which could not be checked by the Ottomans, and he overestimated her hostility to the Uniates, which did not, for the moment, prove fatal. It is interesting that he also misjudged the Uniates themselves, by underestimating their attachment to the Union. He had summed them up as "rough and ignorant," and that characterization became an essential part of his appeal for intervention on their behalf. Because they were too ignorant to resist the pressures of the "Schismatics," Garampi prepared to appeal on their behalf to the Commonwealth, to the Vatican, to France, and to the Ottoman Empire, hoping to create a political and diplomatic alignment which would save from perdition those who could not save themselves. After devising such an extravagant design to organize international support, after seeing the whole elaborate scheme fall through, little wonder that Garampi was surprised in 1775 to see the Uniates recovering their churches "all by themselves" and "spontaneously." Clearly the Ukraine itself was the last place Garampi would have looked for a solution to the problem. This misjudgment was a function of his own ignorance, attributable to his geographical, cultural, and theological distance from the Ukraine.

Yet, outside the Uniate church itself, there was probably no man in Europe who devoted so much attention to the cause of the Uniates during these years as did Garampi. Pope Clement XIV, in the final months of his life in 1774, was reported to feel "extreme affliction" on account of the Uniates, but, according to a dispatch received in Warsaw, "he could not offer any other succor than that which he incessantly implores from the Highest with his fervid

prayers."[63] Clearly, the Vatican was well aware of the crisis in Uniate affairs during these years, but Rome was very far from the Ukraine and fervid prayer was not the same as effective policy. Warsaw was much closer to the scene of the crisis, and the thoughtful elaboration of a subtle Vatican policy for the Ukraine must be attributed to Garampi at the Warsaw nunciate. It was Garampi who appreciated the all-important connections between the religious situation in the Ukraine and the political position of the Commonwealth; it was he who perceived and responded to the persecution of the Uniates in the aftermath of the partition of 1772.

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[63] ANV 45, Secretariat of State, 18 June 1774.

The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-Building in Galicia, 1772–1918*

JOHN-PAUL HIMKA

Perhaps in no process of nation-building did the institution of the church play as great a role as in that of the Ukrainians of Austrian Galicia. This essay examines that role in terms of its impact on both the nation and on the church itself. The Greek Catholic church of Galicia was forged largely by the Josephine enlightenment; indirectly, then, this essay also looks at the role of the Habsburg dynasty in nation-building. It is one of the characteristic ironies of Ukrainian history that two institutions which have generally been regarded as backward-looking—the Habsburg dynasty and the Catholic church—moved the development of the nation so far forward.

This essay touches on six topics: (1) the church and the Habsburgs, (2) the church and education, (3) the church's role in shaping the national identity, (4) the place of churchmen and church institutions in the Ukrainian national movement, (5) the church and the secular intelligentsia, and (6) the church and the peasantry. So broad a range of topics requires restriction to the highlights and, inevitably, the simplification of complex historical moments. The compensation for these limitations, however, should be a sharper outline of the main contours of the subject at hand.

THE HABSBURG CHURCH

The principal reason why a group of Ukrainian Orthodox bishops entered into union with Rome in the late sixteenth century was to raise the status of their church within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This goal was never achieved. When the Habsburgs acquired Galicia in 1772, the Ukrainian church was a degraded

* I thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for awarding me a grant to research this subject in greater depth.

institution, reflecting decades of covert and overt discrimination. It was still referred to then as the Uniate or Greek Uniate church, a constant reminder that it had long been in schism from the True Church of Rome and had embraced union only within the recent historical past.[1] The term "Uniate" implied a certain inferiority vis-à-vis the real "Roman Catholics"[2] with whom these former schismatics were now united. This implicit inferiority was sanctioned by ecclesiastical law, which made it easier for a Uniate to become a Roman than vice-versa,[3] as though it were proper for the superior rite to flourish at the other's expense. Socially, as well, the Uniate church was inferior to the Roman Catholic. Almost all nobles and burghers in Galicia's larger cities were Roman Catholics (or in the case of some burghers, Jews); almost all Uniates were serfs. Although the Uniate clergy was not, in theory, enserfed, some priests were in practice forced to pay rent to their lords, including labor rents; sons of priests who did not follow their fathers' calling were legally liable to the same feudal obligations as hereditary serfs. For the most part, Uniate priests had no formal seminary training; bishops were satisfied if candidates for the priesthood could recite the liturgy and demonstrate familiarity with the main doctrines of the faith. In the Uniate church wealth and education were the guarded privileges of a thin stratum of Basilian monks,[4] who monopolized ecclesiastical offices and richer benefices and cut themselves off from the great mass of clergy and faithful. The church's internal weakness was exacerbated by the partitions of Poland, which left the Uniate metropolitan see under hostile

[1] The first union with Rome had occurred in 1439 at Florence, but was stillborn. The Uniate church generally traces its origins to the union of Brest, 1595–96, but Galicia itself remained a stronghold of Orthodoxy until Bishop Iosyf Shumlians'kyi openly embraced the union in 1700.

[2] Today the term *Roman Catholic* generally applies to the whole of the Catholic church irrespective of rite. However, in the Commonwealth and imperial Austria, *Roman Catholic* was reserved for the Catholics of the Latin rite.

[3] The critical legislation was the constitution "Etsi pastoralis" of 1742. Pope Benedict XIV issued it to regulate the ecclesiastical life of the Greek and Albanian diaspora in Italy, which had adopted the Catholic faith while retaining the Byzantine rite (the so-called Italograeci). For an excellent historical survey of the problem of change of rite, see Anton Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien*, Osteuropa-Institut in Breslau, Quellen und Studien, 5-te Abteilung: *Religionswissenschaft*, 1. Heft (Leipzig and Berlin, 1921), pp. 85–105.

[4] Catholics of the Latin rite (i.e., Poles) could join the Basilian order; this was the single case in which transfer *to* the Greek rite was as easy as transfer to the Latin rite.

tsarist rule and three diocesan sees that had jurisdiction over parishes in Austria.

The Habsburg emperors, particular Maria Theresa and Joseph II, introduced radical improvement in the affairs of the Uniate church. They were motivated by Enlightenment conceptions as much as by a desire to restore order in the spoils of Poland, partitioned allegedly on account of disorder, and to curb the restless Polish nobility, whose victim the Uniate church had ultimately been.[5] Their reform was thorough. In June 1774 Maria Theresa announced her intention "to do away with everything that might make the Uniate people believe they are regarded as worse than the Roman Catholics."[6] In the next month she decreed that henceforth the term *Uniate* was to be banished from private as well as public usage and replaced by the term *Greek Catholic.* Joseph II curbed the Basilian order by claiming as the imperial prerogative the right to appoint bishops from either the black or white clergy and by subordinating the Basilian monks to the Greek Catholic hierarchy (1781).[7] He also took measures to improve the economic status of the parish clergy. Crucial educational institutions were established by the Habsburgs: the seminary for Greek Catholics attached to St. Barbara's Church in Vienna (the so-called Barbareum), founded in 1774 and replaced by a general seminary in Lviv in 1783,[8] and the imperial seminary residence (*Convict*) for Greek Catholics, founded in Vienna in 1803.[9] The culmination of the Austrian reforms was the reestablishment, in 1808, of the Galician metropolitan see.

Understandably, the leadership of the Greek Catholic church that emerged after the first decades of Habsburg rule had a loyalty to the Austrian state that went well beyond a formal compliance with legitimate authority; also understandably, it had an antipathy to the period of Polish rule, which had brought the Uniate church to the

[5] The Habsburgs had already dealt with Uniates in the Hungarian territories of Transylvania and Subcarpathia. The most decisive steps to elevate the status of Uniates, however, were taken only after the acquisition of Galicia.

[6] Cited in Julian Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von den aeltesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart,* 2 vols. (Würzburg and Vienna, 1881), 2:623–24.

[7] A general antipathy to monastic orders was characteristic of Josephinism. Fritz Valjavec, *Der Josephinismus: Zur geistigen Entwicklung Österreichs im achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert,* 2nd ed., rev. (Munich, 1945), p. 62.

[8] The Barbareum was actually closed in the following year, 1784.

[9] For the impact of Joseph II's reforms in clerical education on the East European peoples of the empire, see Valjavec, *Der Josephinismus,* pp. 118–19, 159.

unhealthy state in which the Habsburgs had found it. The political implications of these attitudes were already visible in 1809, when pro-Napoleonic Polish insurgents temporarily seized control of Lviv. The revolutionary Poles ordered the Greek Catholic metropolitan, Anton Anhelovych (1808–1814), to have the priests of his rite substitute Napoleon's name in the liturgy for that of Francis I. Anhelovych refused to break his oath of loyalty and fled the city, abandoning the metropolitan residence to plunder by the insurgents. He was soon captured by the Poles, who imprisoned him until Austrian troops pacified Galicia. For his loyalty Anhelovych was decorated by the emperor with the cross of Leopold.[10]

For the rest of the nineteenth century, the Greek Catholic hierarchy was to remain firmly supportive of the Habsburgs and decisively opposed to the Polish revolutionary movement. During the 1848 revolution, the Ukrainians of Galicia rallied under the Greek Catholic hierarchy to support the emperor and oppose the aspirations of the Poles and the revolutionary camp as a whole. Although the basis for this counter-revolutionary conduct lay in the social and national contradictions of the 1848 revolution itself,[11] rather than in an ideological imposition from the pulpit, the Greek Catholic leadership was able to articulate a pro-Habsburg policy on behalf of the larger Ukrainian society. In some measure, at least, the Greek Catholic church was responsible for imbuing Ukrainians in Galicia with the political consciousness that long earned them the epithet "Tyrolians of the East."

ENLIGHTENMENT: THE OTHER SIDE OF AUSTRIANISM

Loyalty to the dynasty was not all that the Greek Catholic clergy learned from Vienna. The Habsburgs, especially Joseph II, saw the role of the clergy as promoters of secular enlightenment;[12] that conception struck deep roots in the newly reborn (and grateful) Greek

[10] Anhelovych was accompanied in flight by his vicar general, Mykhailo Harasevych (Michaelus Harasiewicz), to whom Francis I afterwards granted the title Baron of Neustern. Harasevych has left an account of the events of 1809 in his *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae. . .* (Lviv, 1861), pp. 919–32.

[11] For an excellent analysis of the Ukrainians' alignment in the 1848 revolution, see Roman Rosdolsky, *Zur nationalen Frage: Friedrich Engels und das Problem der "geschichtslosen" Völker* (Berlin, 1979).

[12] Valjavec, *Der Josephinismus*, p. 63; Eduard Winter, *Der Josefinismus: Die Geschichte des österreichischen Reform-katholizismus 1740–1848* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 123–34.

Catholic church.[13] The enlightened monarchs had not only established the institutions that revitalized the Greek Catholic church, but had implanted an ideal code of behavior in Greek Catholic clergymen that admitted no contradiction, or even strong distinction, between the propagation of the faith and of secular knowledge, between the nurture of good Christians and of good citizens.

A clergyman who exemplified the ideal was Ivan Snihurs'kyi.[14] He imbibed the modern conception of the church's duties at the source—Vienna. He studied there from 1804 to 1808, assisted at St. Barbara's Church from 1808 until his appointment as pastor in 1813, joined the theology faculty at the University of Vienna in 1816, and became dean of the faculty in the following year. As bishop of Peremyshl' (Przemyśl) in Galicia (1818–1847), Snihurs'kyi promoted learning at all levels. One of his first acts as bishop was to found a teachers' college (Institute for Cantors and School Teachers, 1818). He generously distributed stipends for Ukrainian students aspiring to church as well as state service. Against the almost unanimous opposition of the Polish nobility, he argued in the Galician diet (1840) for expanding the elementary school system in the Ukrainian countryside.[15] He established a diocesan seminary in Peremyshl' for fourth-year theology students (1845), and when he died in 1847, his will left a fortune for educational purposes. Snihurs'kyi had also been an energetic patron of literary undertakings: he materially and morally supported the first group of Ukrainian writers to appear in Galicia, the so-called "Ruthenian Triad" (*Rus'ka triitsia*). He also established a diocesan printing press in 1829, which published some important works, including Markiian Shashkevych's *Azbuka i abetsadlo* (1836).[16] In short, Snihurs'kyi was not only a product of the Habsburgs' reform of Greek Catholic intellectual life, but also its devoted promoter and continuator.

13 See the strong endorsement of Joseph II's policies in a mid-nineteenth century Greek Catholic sermon: Iulian Hankevych, *Sluchainyi propovidy* (Lviv, 1877), pp. 212–14; for other sermons honoring the Habsburgs, see pp. 211–19, 230.

14 Iustyn Zhelekhovs'kyi, *Ioann Snihurskii: Eho zhyzn' i diiatel'nost' v Halytskoi Rusi* (Lviv, 1894); Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:952–64.

15 S.B., "O prawach włościan w Galicyi," *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1843, no. 4, p. 134.

16 Jan Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy w Galicji w latach 1830–1848* (Cracow, 1973), pp. 90, 112, 115.

Although exceptionally talented and active, Snihurs'kyi was not alone in his campaign to spread enlightenment among the Ukrainians in Galicia. A much more limited personality, the metropolitan Mykhailo Levyts'kyi (1818–1858) was nonetheless concerned enough about education to revive parish schools, with cantors as instructors; between 1842 and 1856 about a thousand such rudimentary schools were established in the Lviv eparchy.[17] Characteristic of the mentality of Greek Catholic episcopal enlighteners was a regulation Levyts'kyi issued for his seminarians in 1831: it made attendance at agronomy classes compulsory, because pastors would be expected to introduce their parishioners to better farming techniques.[18]

The lower clergy also came to accept the idea that their duties were more than religious. In 1848 (by which time most Greek Catholic priests had a university education) pastors were actively boosting the first Ukrainian newspaper, *Zoria halyts'ka*, in their parishes; priests received it from their deaneries and either read it aloud to the peasants themselves or had their cantors do so.[19] In the 1860s priest-enlighteners rose to prominence, men like Ivan Naumovych and Stepan Kachala who wrote for the peasantry and established reading clubs (*chytal'ni*) and cooperatives in the villages. From then on, the fostering of village organizations and popular education became an essential component of pastoral activity. Educational themes were to be found in printed sermon collections.[20] This educational activism, of course, had a profound influence on Ukrainian society. The achievements of Ukrainians under Austrian rule in the spheres of both social and national

17 Jan Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją. Studia z dziejów ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego w Galicji w latach 1848–1849*, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 381, Prace Historyczne, 52 (Cracow, 1975), p. 149.

18 Priests were themselves gentlemen farmers, and Levyts'kyi's regulation was intended to improve both their own and their parishioners' agriculture: ". . . non tantum suam rem oeconomicam majori cum prosperitate gerere, sed etiam parochianis agriculturam exercentibus jam exemplo, jam consilio plurimum prodesse poterunt." Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, *L'vivs'ka dukhovna seminariia v chasakh Markiiana Shashkevycha (1829–1843)*, Zbirnyk fil'ol'ogichnoi sektsyi Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka, 17–18 (Lviv, 1916), pp. xxxviii and 64. Levyts'kyi's regulation was completely in accord with Joseph II's intention that pastors study agriculture and animal husbandry. Winter, *Der Josefinismus*, p. 126.

19 Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją*, p. 53.

20 Hankevych, *Sluchainyi propovidy*, pp. 88–97; Antin Dobrians'kyi, *Nauky tserkovnyi na vsi prazdnyky v rotsi dlia zhytelei sel'skykh*, 2nd ed. (Peremyshl', 1894), p. 224.

liberation would have been unthinkable without the cultural advancement fostered by a large army of priest-enlighteners.

The experience of the Austrian enlightenment left the Greek Catholic church with a service-oriented clergy as its greatest legacy. But the Josephine spirit seems to have been manifest in more subtle forms as well, such as the Greek Catholic clergy's attitude towards the local Jewish population. While Orthodox priests immediately across the Russian border in the Right-Bank Ukraine remained steeped in a superstitious prejudice against Jews, and while by the end of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic priests in Western (Polish) Galicia adopted a more modern version of anti-Semitism, the Greek Catholic clergy of Galicia did not promote religious or racial anti-Semitism.[21] When, in the course of building the national movement in the village, Greek Catholic priests did agitate against Jews, their agitation remained on the socioeconomic and political plane: priests opposed taverns, which Jews ran; they opposed private money-lending, in which Jews predominated, and encouraged the peasants to form credit unions instead; they urged Ukrainian peasants to gain a foothold in commerce, particularly to organize cooperative stores, which brought them into conflict with Jewish merchants; and they supported Ukrainian candidates to par-

[21] I have dealt with the insignificant role of the clergy and religion in Jewish-Ukrainian conflict in "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside during the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton, forthcoming). I have not been able to find a single work written by a Greek Catholic priest in the period under consideration which reflects either traditional Christian prejudices against Jews or the influence of the modern anti-Semitic movement that emerged in Austria in the late nineteenth century. One such work may be Lev Dzhulyns'kyi's *Talmud, abo nauka o zhydivskii viri* (1874), quite possibly a popularization of August Rohling's *Der Talmudjude*. Searches in the academy and university libraries in Lviv and in the national library in Vienna have failed to turn up a copy of this pamphlet. Jews did not fare badly in Greek Catholic homiletic literature. In Hankevych's four sermons on Christ's passion, there is not a single reference to Jews: *Sluchainyi propovidy*, pp. 147–65. In his sermons for Good Friday there is also no mention of Jews. Iulian Hankevych, *Prazdnychnyi propovidy*, 2 vols. (Lviv, 1876), 1:83–91. See also his sermons at the baptism of Jewish converts: *Sluchainyi propovidy*, pp. 36–40. Dobrians'kyi's sermon for Good Friday does contain one sentence saying that the Jews nailed Christ to the cross; this is in an account of how much Christ suffered, not in an account of who did what during the passion. *Nauky tserkovnyi*, p. 66. Dobrians'kyi's sermons contain a few other religiously motivated, negative references to the Jews (pp. 88, 108, 282); these are all short remarks in passing. One other allusion is to the role of the Jewish tavern-keeper (p. 203).

liament and diet, whereas Jews were involved in electoral agitation for Polish candidates.[22]

The attitude of the Greek Catholic clergy toward the Jews was in fact very reminiscent of that of Joseph II, who promulgated religious toleration but took measures to counteract what he considered the negative economic role of Galician Jews and to insure their conformity to the state idea[23] (as the Ukrainians wanted them to conform to their national idea). This is not the place to judge the policies of either Joseph II or the Greek Catholic clergy toward Jews; I only wish to call attention to their similarity, which may be an indication of how formative the enlightenment period was for the Greek Catholic church.

THE NATIONAL IDENTITY OF GREEK CATHOLICS

The Greek Catholic church was not decisive in determining national identity in Ukrainian Galicia, but it did contribute to both the exacerbation and the resolution of the identity crisis of the nineteenth century. Galicia's Ukrainians entered the age of nationalism unsure as to where they fit in the East European mosaic of nations. Centuries of serfdom and enforced ignorance had not allowed a sense of national identity to crystallize. Some Ukrainians thought they were a branch of the Poles; others that they were Russians; still others that they were the unique, but small nation of Ruthenians or Rusyns,[24] whose territory extended only over Galicia, Bukovyna, and Subcarpathia; and, of course, still others recognized national kinship not only with the other Ruthenians of Austria, but also with Ukrainian people across the Russian border.[25] At

22 For examples of priests coming into conflict with Jews in the villages, see *Bat'kivshchyna*, 1884, no. 26, p. 157, and 1885, no. 46, p. 318 (over the establishment of Ukrinian stores); 1884, no. 23, p. 138 (over the tavern); 1885, no. 46, p. 318 (over a credit union and communal granary); 1884, no. 20, p. 118 (over economic exploitation in general).

23 See Raphael Mahler, *A History of Modern Jewry, 1780–1815* (New York, 1971), pp. 330–33.

24 *Rusyny* (German: *Ruthenian*) was the historical name of the Ukrainians of the Habsburg empire. In nineteenth-century usage, the term *ukraintsi* was reserved for Ukrainians in the Russian Empire. When I refer to "Ukrainians" in Galicia before 1900, I am in fact deferring to a terminological anachronism which has, however, gained wide acceptance among historians of Galicia.

25 The same problem of national orientation, but in another region of Habsburg Ukraine, is the subject of Paul Robert Magocsi's study, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848–1948*, Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies (Cam-

one time or another sections of the church supported each of these orientations.

Religion, or rather rite, was one of the most constant factors differentiating Ukrainians from Poles. To anyone but the professional ethnographer, Galician Ukrainian folkways were not much more different from Galician Polish folkways than were Kashubian folkways. In any case, the old folk traditions were eroded in the real crucible of national consciousness—the city. Language differences were also not so profound as they appear to the linguist, who can neatly classify Polish as West and Ukrainian as East Slavic: the two languages had borrowed much from each other over the centuries, especially lexically, and they were mutually intelligible. The Ukrainian of Kolomyia could converse more easily with a Pole from Rzeszów than with a Russian from Voronezh. In the early nineteenth century it was not implausible to regard Ukrainian as a dialect of Polish. True, there was a visible difference in that the Ukrainians used the Cyrillic alphabet, and several attempts were made in the nineteenth century to have Ukrainians switch to Latin characters. (The attempts failed, not least because of the opposition of Greek Catholic clergymen, whose liturgical books were all in Slavonic with Cyrillic script, as they had been for nearly a thousand years.)[26] The city and education also tended to erase language differences; Ukrainians who went to the artisan's workshop or university were likely later to find themselves (or their children) more comfortable speaking Polish than Ukrainian. Moreover, as William Lockwood has pointed out, "languages . . . are not mutually exclusive as are religious affiliations."[27]

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bridge, Mass., 1978). See my criticism: "The Formation of National Identity in Subcarpathian Rus': Some Questions of Methodology," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 3 (September 1978): 374–80.

26 See Ivan Franko, "Azbuchna viina v Halychyni 1859 r.," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka* 114 (1913): 81–116; 115 (1913): 131–53; 116 (1913): 87–125. For a general overview of the language problem, see Paul R. Magocsi, "The Language Question as a Factor in the National Movement in Eastern Galicia," in *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, ed. Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 220–38.

27 "One can be bilingual or even trilingual and hence, to at least some degree, bi- or tri-cultural. One can thus shift back and forth between two or even three cultural idioms. These are options essentially unavailable to members of ethnic groups based on religion." William G. Lockwood, "Religion and Language as Criteria of Ethnic Identity: An Exploratory Comparison," in *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Southeastern Europe*, ed. Sam Beck and John W. Cole (Amsterdam, 1981), p. 76.

Rite remained a persistent and unequivocal marker of national identity. Baptism into the Greek Catholic church was almost indelible, especially after the Habsburgs had the ecclesiastical authorities regulate the transition from one rite to another so as to assure the preservation of each. It was also hereditary, since Greek Catholic parents could not baptize their children in the Latin rite. The church, then, preserved a mark of Ukrainian ethnicity even in cases of linguistic and cultural assimilation to the Polish nationality. Outside the city, Ukrainian peasants regarded as Poles all who attended the Latin-rite church, even if (as was the case with the so-called *latynnyky*) they had been linguistically, ethnographically, and socially integrated into the Ukrainian peasantry. In Galicia division by rite eventually became *the* line of demarcation between Ukrainians and Poles. When the first Ukrainian national political organization (the Supreme Ruthenian Council) was formed in 1848, its statutes opened membership to any Galician-born Ukrainian of the Greek Catholic church "admitting through his faith to the Ruthenian nationality."[28] The Greek Catholic higher clergy intensified the political significance of the religious distinction by its devotion to the Habsburgs and opposition to the revolutionary Polish national movement.

There was a period when a significant part of the Greek Catholic church, namely, the lower clergy, blurred the national distinction between Poles and Ukrainians by assimilating to both Polish culture and Polish political ideals.[29] This assimilation can best be understood as a consequence of the original Habsburg educational reforms. The immediate result of education was to transform the mass of the Greek Catholic clergy into an elite far above their parishioners. While in 1780 the Greek Catholic priest could, for better

[28] Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją*, p. 36. As Kozik notes, however, the rule was not enforced and some Roman Catholics who considered themselves Ukrainian were also permitted to join. Iakiv Holovats'kyi wrote in 1841: "A person in Galicia usually only calls himself a Ruthenian if he professes Greek Catholicism; as soon as he changes his faith to the Latin rite, which now often happens, then he ceases to be a Ruthenian and is called a Pole." Cited in Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, p. 25.

[29] The higher clergy had encouraged linguistic Polonization in the early nineteenth century: *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, p. 36. By the middle of the century the process of linguistic Polonization was complete. Ann Sirka, *The Nationality Question in Austrian Education: The Case of Ukrainians in Galicia 1867–1914*, European University Studies: ser. 3, History and Allied Studies, 124 (Frankfurt a.M., 1980), p. 5. In 1848 a Polish publicist stated that the fact that Greek Catholic priests spoke Polish proved Polish should remain the language of educated Ukrainians. Kasper Cięglewicz, *Rzecz czerwono-ruska 1848 roku* [Lviv, 1848], p. 2.

or worse, feel at home in the village tavern with the peasants,[30] by 1830 his counterparts were seeking more refined company. While in 1770 most candidates for the Greek Catholic priesthood had no access to educated society, by the first decades of the nineteenth century they were mingling with Polish students in Lviv. To shed one's proximity, cultural and social, to the peasant meant to be elevated to a status that did not yet fit in with Ukrainian society. Just as, on an individual scale, emigration to the city entailed eventual adoption of the dominant Polish culture, so, too, promotion on the social scale at first entailed the Polonization of an entire stratum.

Until 1848 the language in daily use among Greek Catholic seminarians in Lviv was Polish. Bishops and seminary authorities had to issue regulation after regulation to inculcate in the seminarians some knowledge of the Ukrainian language and the Cyrillic alphabet.[31] In 1840 even Antin Petrushevych, the son of a priest and later a staunch Old Ruthenian patriot and eminent historian of Galician Ukraine, failed his examination in *lingua ruthenica* because he could not read Cyrillic.[32] And the seminarians were more than linguistically Polonized: in the 1830s and 1840s the Greek Catholic seminary in Lviv became a hotbed of the Polish revolutionary movement.[33] One rector of the seminary deliberately encouraged Ukrainian studies at the seminary as an antidote to Polish revolutionism.[34] When the 1848 revolution broke out, many Greek

[30] Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, p. 13. The peasantry was initially alienated by the novelty of an educated clergy. "When the new priests came from the seminar [in Lviv], they already had a higher education and greater demands, so that the people did not become accustomed to them quickly, did not like them very much and called them 'German priests' (*nimets'ki ks'ondzy*)." Fylymon Tarnavs'kyi, *Spohady: Rodynna khronika Tarnavs'kykh iak prychynok do istorii tserkovnykh, sviashchenyts'kykh, pobutovykh, ekonomichnykh i politychnykh vidnosyn u Halychyni v druhii polovyni XIX storichchia i v pershii dekadi XX storichchia*, ed. Anatol' Mariia Bazylevych and Roman Ivan Danylevych (Toronto, 1981), pp. 34–35.

[31] Studyns'kyi, *L'vivs'ka dukhovna seminariia*, pp. ccxxxiii–ccxl.

[32] Studyns'kyi, *L'vivs'ka dukhovna seminariia*, p. ccxxxix.

[33] Studyns'kyi, *L'vivs'ka dukhovna seminariia*, pp. xciv–cx, cxxii–cxxxiii, cxlvi–clxxxviii, ccvi–ccxi. Also: Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, "Pol's'ki konspiratsii sered rus'kykh pytomtsiv i dukhoven'stva v Halychyni v rokakh 1831–46," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka* 80 (1907):53–108, and 83 (1908):87–177.

[34] The rector was Venedykt Levyts'kyi, who also served as the censor for Ukrainian-language books in Galicia from 1834 to 1848. Although in 1836 he recommended Ukrainian studies as a means to frustrate the plans of "perverse men" to spread "pernicious doctrines" among seminarians, he had previously (1834) blocked the publication of the first almanac of the Ruthenian Triad, *Zoria*,

Catholic seminarians in Lviv pinned Polish cocardes to their breasts and donned the distinctive Polish revolutionary headgear; among them was Ivan Naumovych, later a fiercely anti-Polish and even Russophile political activist. Some seminarians were so carried away by their sympathies as to join Polish insurgents at the barricades.[35] Some Ukrainian priests also joined the Polish National Council in 1848 instead of the Supreme Ruthenian Council; Bishop Hryhorii Iakhymovych (Lviv suffragan, 1841–49) had to prohibit their participation by a decree of 12 May 1848.[36]

The year 1848 marked a turning point.[37] Thereafter, with few exceptions,[38] Greek Catholic priests and seminarians became not only aloof from, but hostile to, the Polish national movement. This change of direction sprang from nothing within the church per se. The ultimate rejection of Polonism by the clergy was the result of Ukrainian society's impact on the church, not the reverse. A new Ukrainian society, free from serfdom, socially more diversified, and politically more experienced, had been forged by the revolutionary struggle of 1848 and tempered by the epilogue of that struggle in the 1860s, when in the reorganization of the empire the Polish nobility won political control of an autonomous Galicia. By the late 1860s, the *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus* was forced to make a choice of allegiance,[39] because the bitter political struggle had vitiated coexistence between both a Polish and Ukrainian national identity. With the support of the newly emerged secular intelligentsia, the Greek Catholic clergy, ministers of the religion

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and subsequently (1837) the Triad's major collection, *Rusalka Dnistrovaia.* Studyns'kyi, *L'vivs'ka dukhovna seminariia*, pp. cxxi, ccliv, 159–60. Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, pp. 100–105.

[35] Studyns'kyi, *L'vivs'ka dukhovna seminariia*, p. ccxxxi. See also Naumovych's autobiography in his *Sobranie sochinenii*, 3 vols. (Lviv, 1926–27), 1, bk. 1:16–25.

[36] Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją*, pp. 39–41.

[37] Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją*, pp. 173–74. The re-Ukrainianization of the lower clergy is vividly described in Tarnavs'kyi, *Spohady*, pp. 19–25.

[38] The Ukrainian Marxist Roman Rosdolsky was descended from a long line of Greek Catholic priests. On the national consciousness of his antecedents, he writes: ". . . As late as 1863 some Ukrainian intellectuals participated in the Polish insurrection. Among the latter was the author's great-grandfather; the author's grandfather, however, was already a fervent Ukrainian patriot and an opponent of Polish and Russian rule." *Zur nationalen Frage*, p. 138, fn. 31.

[39] See John-Paul Himka, "Polish and Ukrainian Socialism: Austria, 1867–1890" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977), p. 130 ("The Membership of the Popular Education Society Prosvita, 1868–74"). A revised, but much abridged version of this thesis has been published: *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860–1890)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

that distinguished Ukrainians from Poles, turned its back on the Polish national movement once and for all.[40]

The firm decision not to be Polish was insufficient as a statement of national identity, however. If the Greek Catholics of Galicia were not Poles, who were they? Where were their co-nationals? In Bukovyna and Subcarpathia? In Right- and Left-Bank Ukraine? In St. Petersburg and Moscow? Neither the revolution of 1848 nor the political battles of the 1860s had settled these questions. Again, nothing in the Greek Catholic church itself ultimately resolved this, but the church did take part in the search for national self-knowledge and it made its attitudes felt.

The Russophile orientation was initiated by secular intellectuals,[41] but as long as it survived the orientation had a following in the Greek Catholic clergy. Serious problems of religious identity were responsible for the persistent attraction to Russophilism of at least a part of the clergy.[42] The Greek Catholic had an Orthodox face, Roman Catholic citizenship and, as I have argued, an enlightened Austrian soul. These elements did not fuse into a new religious synthesis. In practice, most priests were content to emphasize their "Austrianism," giving more thought to founding communal granaries than to purely spiritual matters. In the affairs of the spirit and liturgy they were obliged to look either east or west, since Greek Catholicism itself had never had a chance to flourish as an independent religious tradition. There would always be some priests who looked to the living Orthodox tradition in the Russian Empire as the model for their own liturgical and spiritual practices. They wanted to purify the Greek Catholic church of Latin accretions, which by the 1860s had also acquired the political stigma of being Polish-inspired. These purists already existed in the 1830s and 1840s,[43] but became influential in the early 1860s. In 1861 a group of Greek Catholic priests, including Ivan Naumovych and Markel Popel' (both of whom were soon to become

[40] I know of no example of a Greek Catholic priest active in the Polish national movement in Galicia after the late 1860s.

[41] Himka, "Polish and Ukrainian Socialism," p. 118.

[42] One of the curious side effects of the youth ferment of the 1960s was the reappearance of a Russophile trend in Ukrainian Catholic seminaries in North America. Rebellious seminarians visited Russian Orthodox churches and monasteries, coveted Russian Orthodox liturgical and prayer books, dreamed of wearing Russian-style vestments, kolpaks and long beards, and tried to boycott such papish accretions as rosaries and devotions to the Sacred Heart.

[43] Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, pp. 134–35.

prominent Russophiles and later to finish their careers as Orthodox clerics in Russia) began publishing articles and brochures in which they argued that Rome had violated its original agreement with the Uniates by systematic Latinization of their rite. The "ritual movement" (*obriadovyi rukh*), as the cmpaign was called, induced Metropolitan Hryhorii Iakhymovych (1860–1863) to establish a commission to investigate the need for purification of the rite.[44] Although the commission was disbanded after Iakhymovych's death, the Easternizers retained some influence in the metropolitan consistory for another two decades. Their complete fall from grace occurred in 1882. In that year the village of Hnylychky announced its intention to convert to the Orthodox faith; Naumovych and several others were prosecuted for high treason as Russian agents; and Metropolitan Iosyf Sembratovych (1870–1882) was forced to resign for failing to curb Russian and Orthodox tendencies in his clergy.[45]

Russophilism in the clergy was never to be entirely eradicated under Austrian rule, but the events of 1882 demonstrate the limits of its appeal to Greek Catholics. With the growing estrangement of Austria and Russia, the imperial authorities, and therefore the Habsburg-loyal hierarchy, would tolerate it less and less. More importantly, the religious and national Russophilism of the clergy could lead to the negation of Greek Catholicism itself. In seeking to restore the rite to its purity before the union, the Easternizers came very close to a return to Orthodoxy, and in fact many of them did convert. The church which had been formed precisely as a defection from Orthodoxy had to keep Orthodoxy at a safe distance in order to survive.

The limits of Russophilism's popularity in the church as a whole were partly determined by the tsar's unflinching hostility to Uniatism. The last Uniate metropolitan of Kiev died in St. Petersburg in 1805.[46] In 1839 the union was suppressed in Lithuania, Belorussia, and Volhynia, which provoked a letter of protest from Metropolitan Levyts'kyi of Galicia in 1841.[47] In the 1860s and early 1870s the Russian government recruited a large contingent of Galician

44 Dmitrii Vientskovskii, *Grigorii Iakhimovich i sovremennoe russkoe dvizhenie. Ocherk* (Lviv, 1892), pp. 77–78.
45 Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, p. 139.
46 Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:595.
47 *Nacherk istorii unii ruskoi tserkvy z Rymom* (Lviv, 1896), p. 98.

priests and intellectuals to work in the last surviving Uniate diocese of Kholm (Chełm), only to abolish the union there in 1875.[48] From the turn of the century until World War I, well-financed Russian agents propagated Orthodoxy in Galicia and, much more successfully, among Galician emigrants in North America; this battle for souls, religious and national, further embittered relations between Russian and Russophile Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek Catholics.[49] Finally, during the Russian occupation of Galicia in 1914–1915, the Greek Catholic metropolitan, Andrei Sheptyts'kyi (1901–1944), was arrested and exiled to Russia, while the Russian Orthodox bishop of Kholm, Evlogii (Vladimir Georgievskii), undertook the forcible conversion of Galicians to the Orthodox faith.[50] Thus, although Russophilism would always have a certain resonance in the clergy owing to Greek Catholicism's straddling of two religious heritages, it could never become dominant without the suspension of the union that made Uniatism Uniatism.[51]

The Greek Catholic church would ultimately throw its weight behind neither the Polish nor the Russian solution to the national identity crisis of the Ruthenians. The safest ground for Greek Catholicism was some third way. Since religiously Greek Catholics were threatened by both Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy, then nationally they would be better off as neither Poles nor Russians.

But again, this negative answer to the question of national self-identification was insufficient. Although several solutions to the Galician national identity crisis that were neither Polish nor Russian

[48] An excellent account of the Russian government's recruitment in the 1860s is given in Jan Kozik's "Moskalofilstwo w Galicji w latach 1848–1866 na tle odrodzenia narodowego Rusinów" (M.A. thesis, Jagellonian University, 1958), pp. 155–73.

[49] Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, pp. 140–43.

[50] Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, pp. 144–46. See also *Tsars'kyi viazen'* (Lviv, 1918).

[51] Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi did attempt to restore the original Eastern spirit to Ukrainian Catholicism. But because he also devoted so much time to missionary activity in the East, i.e., to uniting the Orthodox with Rome, Ukrainian Catholicism was not exposed to the dangers that the longing for purification had traditionally posed. See, for example, Gregor Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit: Leben und Wirken des grossen Förderers der Kirchenunion Graf Andreas Scheptytzkyj* (Munich, 1955), pp. 123–84. Sheptyts'kyi understood what drew some of his priests to Russophilism, and accorded them a relative tolerance that led to an open conflict with the editor of *Dilo*, Lonhyn Tsehels'kyi, in 1908. Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukraintsiv, 1848–1914*, 2 vols. (Zhovkva, 1926–27), 2:494–95 (see also 1:371).

might have been possible,[52] historical reality only offered two: to be Austro-Ruthenian (i.e., to limit the territorial base of the nation to Galicia, Bukovyna, and Subcarpathia) or to be all-Ukrainian (i.e., to identify also with the Ukrainian nation in southwestern Russia). In Galicia the Austro-Ruthenian solution never crystallized to the extent it did in Subcarpathia, but it did exist as an underlying attitude, particularly in the church and particularly in the period from the 1830s to the 1870s.

The two conceptions rarely clashed openly in Galicia. Even the bitter conflict between the Ruthenian Triad and their ecclesiastical superiors in the 1830s[53] did not focus explicitly on the issue of national identity. The Triad was persecuted and their works banned because of "superfluous innovations"[54] in orthography and lexicon. Yet implicit in the dissension was dissonance between a new conception of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian nationality that looked beyond Galicia to the Slavic awakening throughout Eastern Europe and the Austrocentric conception traditionally held by the Greek Catholic hierarchy.

Austro-Ruthenianism was ascendent in the decade following the defeat of the 1848 revolution, when the Greek Catholic hierarchy was the only quasi-official representative of the Ruthenian national movement. Those who adhered to it were known by the 1860s as Old Ruthenians, or members of the St. George party (after St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, seat of the Galician metropolitan). By then they were already in eclipse, as the constitutional era allowed Russophiles and pan-Ukrainians to come to the fore. Those Old Ruthenians who survived beyond the 1860s had to ally with the Russophile camp, which tolerated them because their conservative, etymological linguistic principles were close to those of the

52 For instance, a single national identity embracing the whole former Polish-Lithuanian *Rus'* was theoretically possible. The weakness of the Belorussian national movement prevented this conception from emerging, however.

53 "The young Ukrainian intelligentsia's break with the leaders of the church was total before the Springtime of Peoples." Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, p. 17. As was mentioned above, Bishop Snihurs'kyi was an exception among the church leaders in his support of the young awakeners. Later the Greek Catholic hierarchy was to honor the memory of the Triad and particularly of its leader, Markiian Shashkevych. On the hundredth anniversary of Shashkevych's birth (1911), Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was to say: "That the first person in Galicia to turn to the people was a priest . . . —this is our glory and we take pride in it today." Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 2: 587–88.

54 Father Iosyf Levyts'kyi, grammarian, cited in Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, p. 104.

Russophiles themselves, and because the Russophiles were in any case constrained to mute their political irredentism to avoid charges of disloyalty to the Austrian state. A number of Old Ruthenians, however, also joined the Ukrainian movement.[55]

National populism (*narodovstvo*), as the Ukrainian movement proper was known, was primarily the child of secular intellectuals, not just native Galicians, but people from Russian-ruled Ukraine as well.[56] The church as such did not spark its emergence, but once the movement had consolidated its hold on Ukrainian society, the church actively supported it. The church's contribution to the movement's victory was the inherently anti-Polish and anti-Russian bias of Greek Catholicism. In a society without a secular intelligentsia, however, the church might have preferred a narrow Austro-Ruthenian orientation (as was the case in Subcarpathia).[57] After all, the Ruthenians of Galicia and Subcarpathia were Greek Catholic, and there were Greek Catholic missions in Orthodox Bukovyna, but the Orthodox Ukrainians in the tsarist empire were absolutely beyond redemption.

THE CHURCH AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The Greek Catholic church was extremely important to the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia throughout the nineteenth century.[58] As a consequence of the Josephine educational reforms, and of exposure to the Slavic awakeners in Vienna, the Greek Catholic clergy became the pioneers of Galicia's Ukrainian renaissance.[59] The grammarians who paved the way for the Ruthenian Triad were priests. Of forty-three books published in Galicia in the Ukrainian language between 1837 and 1850, forty

[55] The best study of these issues is Kozik's "Moskalofilstwo." See also Himka, "Polish and Ukrainian Socialism," pp. 117–19, 130–31, 215–17.

[56] Himka, "Polish and Ukrainian Socialism," pp. 120–26, 131–37.

[57] Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*, p. 187; see also Himka, "Formation of National Identity," pp. 378–79. The Rusyn-Ruthenian orientations in Subcarpathia and Galicia were analogous, but not altogether identical; after the Compromise of 1867, when Subcarpathian Ruthenians found themselves under Magyar and Galician Ruthenians under Austro-Polish rule, differences became more noticeable.

[58] For a catalogue of the clergy's contribution to the national movement, see Isydor Sokhots'kyi, *Shcho daly hreko-katolyts'ka Tserkva i dukhovenstvo ukrains'komu narodovi* (Philadelphia, 1951).

[59] See Winter, *Der Josefinismus.* p. 150, and Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, p. 88.

were written by clergymen.[60] During the 1848 revolution, Bishop Iakhymovych presided over the Supreme Ruthenian Council and served as the Ukrainian representative to the Austrian constitutional commission. The Supreme Ruthenian Council held its first meetings in the consistory of St. George's Cathedral and later met in a hall of the Greek Catholic seminary. Greek Catholic deaneries formed the organizational base for the council's branches outside Lviv. So pervasive was the Greek Catholic clergy's influence in 1848 that a Polish activist accused it of trying to establish a theocracy.[61] In the 1850s the Greek Catholic hierarchy replaced the council as the representative of Ukrainian society.[62] From the late 1860s through the 1890s (and beyond) priests were active in the village, building the infrastructure of a popular mass movement; they founded temperance organizations, reading clubs, cooperatives and other voluntary associations, and they participated in politics as electoral agitators and elected representatives at every level of government, from village council to parliament.[63] Without their activism the Ukrainian movement could not have developed the degree of mass support it commanded by the turn of the century.

Channelling so much energy into the national movement eventually placed the church in the dangerous position of acting and being regarded as an instrument of a secular movement.[64] The church's identity as church was becoming blurred. For the clergy, efforts on

60 Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, p. 94.

61 This was Kasper Cięglewicz speaking at the Prague Slav Congress: Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją*, p. 72. See also Cięglewicz, *Rzecz czerwono-ruska*, p. 5. A similar point was made by the Polish democrat Florian Ziemiałkowski in January 1849 at a session of the constitutional commission of the Kroměříž Reichstag. Rudolf Wagner, ed., *Die Revolutionsjahre 1848/49 im Königreich Galizien-Lodomerien (einschliesslich Bukowina): Dokumente aus österreichischer Zeit* (Munich, 1983), p. 21; see also pp. 59–60, 66–67.

62 On the hierarchy's politics in the 1850s, see Vientskovs'kyi, *Grigorii Iakhimovich*, pp. 63–73.

63 See, for example, Oleksii Zaklyns'kyi, *Zapysky parokha Starykh Bohorodchan*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1960), pp. 99–101; Tarnavs'kyi, *Spohady*, esp. pp. 141–51, 168–87. I have presented a more detailed account of the clergy's activities in the village in "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867–1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 21 (1979): 4–9.

64 A similar problem emerged in Romanian Orthodox Transylvania: "As [Bishop] Şaguna discovered, the best interests of Orthodoxy did not always correspond to the aspirations of those who put nation before church. Indeed, the idea of nationality bade fair to replace religious belief itself as the dominant influence on men's minds." Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Şaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846–1873* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), p. 173.

behalf of the national movement took precedence over purely spiritual duties, and priests began to think of themselves more as village activists than as ministers of God.[65] The deteriorating prestige of religion among the secular intelligentsia and peasantry brought this home to the hierarchy by the late 1890s.

Bishop Iuliian Sas-Kuilovs'kyi of Stanyslaviv (1891–1899) felt obliged to call his clergy to order in 1899, instructing it to preach the Gospel instead of organizing reading clubs.[66] His successor, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, did the same in 1902, admonishing priests to keep clear of political bickering and to devote themselves to their vocations.[67] During the First World War Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv (1904–1946) issued a pastoral letter lamenting that "the church and the faith have become subordinate to the national question, and these higher factors have become regarded as means to lesser aims."[68]

Although Khomyshyn and Sheptyts'kyi were in agreement about the perils of absorption into the national movement, their methods of dealing with the problem differed. Khomyshyn favored the church's withdrawal from the movement in order to concentrate on its spiritual mission. Sheptyts'kyi's policy was more complex. He envisioned a restored church, with its spirituality not only intact but flourishing, intervening positively and actively in national affairs, yet unafraid to censure actions that might be beneficial to the national cause but inconsistent with Christian principles. Thus, in 1901, concerned about the prevalence of religious indifferentism, agnosticism, and even atheism among educated Ukrainians, Sheptyts'kyi wrote a special pastoral letter to the secular intelligentsia, explaining why, in an age of reason, it was still important

65 "Although I came from a priest's family and was always raised in a priest's home, I could never find in those families or in the churches or in our services as they were then celebrated anything that would nurture me religiously and encourage me to turn to God. . . . Although the families in which I was raised were very honorable, they concentrated their attention on the national aspect, with less attention to the religious aspect. . . .Listening to the conversations in our families, I always heard only about politics, economic matters, family and neighborhood concerns, local village affairs; but I never heard discussions on working to elevate the youth morally and religiously, on religious organizations and how to manage them." Tarnavs'kyi, *Spohady*, pp. 80–81.

66 Himka, "Priests and Peasants," pp. 9–10.

67 Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 1:371.

68 Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, p. 151.

to hold to the Christian faith.[69] In 1908 he risked a complete break with the leaders of the national movement in order to condemn the assassination of the Galician governor, Count Andrzej Potocki, by the Ukrainian student Myroslav Sichyns'kyi.[70] Although the metropolitan was willing to take unpopular stands on certain questions, he was also ready to lend the full weight of his moral authority to those Ukrainian national demands which he could support. In the school commission of the Galician diet and in the Austrian house of lords Sheptyts'kyi championed the expansion of Ukrainian secondary schools and the establishment of a Ukrainian university in Lviv;[71] these were among the causes most ardently pursued by the national movement in the fifteen years before World War I. He even supported Ukrainian students in their secession from Lviv University in 1901 by closing down the Greek Catholic seminary in Lviv (this quite surprised the Austrian minister of education, who did not expect such radical action from an aristocratic bishop).[72] Sheptyts'kyi was also active in another major issue raised by the national movement on the eve of World War I: increasing Ukrainian representation in the Galician diet. In fact, he played a crucial part in working out the final agreement of the diet reform in 1914.[73] In addition Sheptyts'kyi was a magnanimous patron of Ukrainian culture and the founder of a national museum in Lviv (1905).[74] His prestige as a Ukrainian patriot and moral example soared when the tsarist authorities arrested and exiled him during the occupation of Galicia in 1914.[75] Largely owing to his own

69 "Do ukrains'koi inteligentsii," in Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, *Tvory*, vol. 1: *Pastyrs'ki lysty (2.VIII.1899 r.–7.IX.1901 r.)*, Pratsi Ukrains'koho bohoslovs'koho naukovoho tovarystva, 15 (Toronto, 1965), pp. 190–214.

70 Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 2:476, 480.

71 Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 1:368, 2:544.

72 Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 1:359.

73 Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 2:685–86 (see also 2:652). Sirka, *Nationality Question*, p. 155.

74 Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit*, pp. 249–51. The museum continues to exist in the Ukrainian SSR as the Lviv State Museum of Ukrainian Art; Soviet publications avoid mentioning the museum's origins.

75 In the eighteenth century the Sheptyts'kyi family had produced three successive Greek Catholic bishops of Lviv: Varlaam (1710–15), Atanasii (1715–46), and Lev (1749–79). But in the nineteenth century the Sheptyts'kyis were completely Polonized and had even switched to the Latin rite. When the young Polish count Roman Szeptycki returned to the rite of his ancestors, entered the monastery (where he took the name Andrei), and rapidly advanced in a Greek Catholic ecclesiastical career, Ukrainian society initially feared that a Polish agent was being promoted in the Ukrainian church. Sheptyts'kyi's statements and actions in support of the

personal qualities and grand vision, Sheptyts'kyi succeeded during his lifetime in restoring the Ukrainian Catholic church as an independent moral and spiritual authority, allied to the national movement, but separate and critical.

RELATIONS WITH THE INTELLIGENTSIA

The Greek Catholic clergy nurtured the formation of a Ukrainian intelligentsia in the 1840s in two ways. First, priests' sons formed the initial cadres of the intelligentsia and continued to be an important source for its expansion into the twentieth century. Second, the Greek Catholic hierarchy deliberately fostered the emergence of an educated Ukrainian elite outside the ranks of the clergy. For instance, in 1845 Bishop Iakhymovych tried to dissuade a fourth-year law student at the University of Vienna from entering the seminary; he argued that a lawyer could do more good for the Ukrainians than could yet another priest.[76] In 1847 Bishop Snihurs'kyi urged Ivan Holovats'kyi to dedicate his forthcoming publication to a Ukrainian prominent in law or government service in order to "show the world that not only clergymen are true Ruthenians, but also secular persons of high dignity do not reject their Ruthenianism. . . ."[77] During the 1848 revolution, two of the five places in the presidium of the Supreme Ruthenian Council were reserved for secular figures, and a *numerus clausus* was imposed on clergy in the council's branches outside Lviv.[78]

Ukrainian movement did much to alleviate suspicion concerning the sincerity of his religious and national conversion. Still, whenever he felt morally bound to take one of his unpopular stands, critics were quick to say that his true—Polish aristocratic—colors were showing and to make comparisons with Mickiewicz's Wallenrod. His courage on behalf of nation and faith in 1914, however, seems to have consummated his acceptance by Ukrainian society.

[76] Zaklyns'kyi, *Zapysky*, p. 29.

[77] Ivan Holovats'kyi in a letter to his brother Iakiv, cited in Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, p. 293; see also p. 93.

[78] In addition to the council's president, Bishop Iakhymovych, the presidium consisted of two vice-presidents and two secretaries. One vice-president and one secretary were high-ranking priests or canons (*kanoniky*); the remaining vice-president and secretary were laymen. In theory local branches of the council were to consist of thirty members, of whom no more than ten were to be priests; in practice the local branches varied in both size and clerical participation. Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją*, pp. 36, 38.

In the 1840s the secular intelligentsia filially deferred to the clergy. On the eve of the 1848 revolution, in early February, the governor of Galicia agreed to the publication of what was intended to be the first Ukrainian-language periodical in Galicia. The secular figures promoting the project immediately sought a priest to be their editor.[79]

By the 1860s and 1870s, however, the intelligentsia had become stronger both in numbers[80] and influence. Some members of the clergy welcomed this development unreservedly. At the first general meeting of the Ukrainian popular education society Prosvita in December 1868, Father Iosyf Zaiachkivs'kyi summoned the secular intelligentsia to replace the clergy at the head of the Ukrainian nation:

> for we are not disposed to struggle, but are rather apostles of peace. We were frightened by the storm [the 1848 revolution] and began to look behind us to protect our backs; we withdrew to such an extent that we lost sight of the people and the people lost sight of us. Now you gentlemen want to stand in our place and to carry forward the enlightenment of the people beyond the point at which we have stopped. For this the people thank you and may God bless you.[81]

The intelligentsia's assumption of leadership was, to be sure, neither complete nor totally free of conflict. For example, Metropolitan Iakhymovych had initially endorsed and partially subsidized the first major newspaper to be edited by secular intellectuals (*Slovo*, 1861–1887). But when that paper published criticism of the hierarchy (by a member of the lower clergy), Iakhymovych immediately cooled towards the project.[82] The Ukrainophile movement of the early 1860s was at times openly critical of the clergy's role in national life.[83] Still, by the late 1860s—when the constitutional era was firmly established in Austria, the political status of Galicia settled (essentially under Polish domination), and the major camps and structures of the Ukrainian national movement in place—both the Russophile and national populist establishments

[79] Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją*, p. 18.
[80] In the twenty years since the 1848 revolution, "the Ruthenian intelligentsia . . . has grown larger; in addition to Ruthenian priests we now have Ruthenian teachers and civil servants. . . ." *Kaliendar "Prosvity" na rik 1870*, cited in Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 2:732.
[81] Cited in Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky*, 1:112.
[82] Vientskovskii, *Grigorii Iakhimovich*, pp. 75–76.
[83] Himka, *Socialism in Galicia*, p. 44.

were at peace with the church. The national movement at that time worked on the basis of a largely informal, but sometimes clearly expressed agreement between the secular intelligentsia and the clergy. The clergy would carry the national movement into the village, and the intelligentsia would allow the church considerable influence on the goals and ideology of the movement.[84]

The agreement was tenable into the 1890s. Then the intelligentsia took decisive control of the movement away from the clergy, and the church found itself in the perilous position of being the instrument of an estranged, and often overtly hostile, movement. The rotten eggs thrown at Metropolitan Syl'vester Sembratovych (1885–1898) in 1893[85] and at Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in 1910[86] symbolized the change of heart since 1848, when timid intellectuals looked for a priest to edit their periodical and a bishop to preside over their representative political organization.

Militant anticlericalism and even atheism had been present in Ukrainian society since the 1870s, but their expression was confined to a young, radical minority. The radicals' opposition to the church was not merely an adjunct to their socialist beliefs, but a cornerstone of their whole world outlook. Their ardent insistence on atheism and anticlericalism set them apart from the Polish socialists of Galicia, who could not understand the Ukrainians' obsession with the church.[87] At its core was a strongly felt need on the part of some Ukrainian intellectuals to emancipate themselves

[84] A characteristic incident occurred in 1889, when the radical Mykhailo Pavlyk was editor of *Bat'kivshchyna*, the national populist newspaper for the peasantry. The national populists were disturbed by the anticlerical tone Pavlyk was introducing into the paper and wanted him to abandon criticism of the clergy. Vasyl' Nahirnyi, one of the most prominent national populists, told Pavlyk: "Through the intercession of the saints to God, through the intercession of the priests to the people." M. Pavlyk, ed., *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom (1876–1895)*, 7 vols., numbered 2–8 (Chernivtsi, 1910–12), 5:357.

[85] This was the work of Russophile students attending the University of Vienna. Sembratovych had led a pilgrimage to Rome and was returning to Galicia via Vienna. The students met him at the railway station and pelted him with rotten eggs. They accused Sembratovych of working for the Vatican against the Ukrainian church because he wanted to introduce a celibate clergy. "Zbezcheshchenie mytropolyta," *Khliborob*, 1893, no. 11–12, p. 72.

[86] This was occasioned by lingering anger over Sheptyts'kyi's condemnation of the Potocki assassination two years earlier. In 1910 the metropolitan was visiting Ukrainian settlements in Canada; the egging took place in Winnipeg. "Mytropolyt Sheptyts'kyi v Vinnipehu," *Ukrains'kyi holos* (Winnipeg), 1910, no. 31, p. 3. "Graf A. Sheptyts'kyi i Myr. Sichyns'kyi," *Ukrains'kyi holos*, 1910, no. 31, p. 4.

[87] Ivan Franko, *Monoloh ateista* (Lviv, 1973), p. 171.

completely from the clergy's tutelage. In 1890 a purgative anticlericalism emerged from underground with the formation of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party, and many of its assumptions became hegemonic in the larger Ukrainian movement. As that decade progressed, the national movement underwent a radical metamorphosis which left the balance of secular and clerical forces permanently altered.[88]

PRIESTS AND THE AWAKENING VILLAGE

The priest's authority in the national movement from the late 1860s to the 1890s rested on his relationship to the peasant. For decades the urban intelligentsia was unable to communicate with the largely illiterate peasantry without the clergy's mediation. The clergy for long was the only bridge between the worlds of the city-based national movement and the peasantry in the countryside. The priest was the only figure in the village who combined Ukrainian nationality, a university education, economic independence, and sanctioned authority. His support for the national movement was crucial for its penetration through the masses, and this was why until the 1890s the intelligentsia diligently avoided offending him. What unravelled the knot binding the intelligentsia to the clergy was the progress of the national movement among the peasants. The priest had fostered that progress, but ultimately it undermined his authority in the village and built new bridges between intelligentsia and peasantry that made his own services expendable.

Even in the brief interlude of the 1848 revolution, tendencies towards this end were evident. Priests encouraged their parishioners to support the Supreme Ruthenian Council and to take an active interest in politics, but they were not prepared for the autonomy of the new peasant activism they had awakened. They were dismayed to discover that peasants preferred to send other peasants,

[88] Anticlericalism in Galicia, as in the rest of Austria, often had a Josephine tinge. See Valjavec, *Der Josephinismus*, pp. 77, 99, 161. Ukrainian radicals reprinted a Josephine patent fixing the fees for sacramental rites; these fees were much lower than those actually in practice in the late nineteenth century, and the peasantry was easily roused to indignation by the contrast between what the emperor had decreed and what the priests actually took from them.

rather than priests, to the Reichstag.[89] Moreover, these peasant deputies waged a campaign for the abolition of the sacramental fees paid to the clergy.[90]

Priests again took up propagation of the rural national movement during the last third of the nineteenth century, at the risk of undermining their authority in the awakening villages. Much of the priest's authority rested on the cultural difference between the educated pastor and his ignorant parishioners; yet the whole purpose of the national enlightenment was to raise the cultural level of the Ukrainian peasant. Priests taught peasants the importance of political action, but this necessarily implied their own displacement from the center of the political stage. The clergy founded cultural, political, and economic organizations in the villages, but control of these organizations soon passed out of their hands and into those of peasants. The new peasant that the priest had created belonged to a reading club and entertained political opinions; he could not help but view the priest differently than his father had before him.

The tensions implicit in this fundamental rearrangement of the priest-peasant relationship were magnified by the ideology of the Greek Catholic clergy. In the late 1860s and 1870s the clergy's slogans for the peasantry were enlightenment, sobriety, diligence, and thrift. It was not hard for the awakening peasant to see through the paternalism of this program; some resented its implicit stereotype of the ignorant, drunken, lazy, and spendthrift peasant.[91]

89 Of twenty-five Galician Ukrainian deputies elected to the Reichstag in 1848, fifteen were peasants, eight were priests and two belonged to the secular intelligentsia. Kozik, *Między reakcją a rewolucją*, pp. 86–87.

90 Roman Rosdolsky, *Die Bauernabgeordneten im konstituierenden österreichischen Reichstag 1848–1849* (Vienna, 1976), pp. 171–72. The payment of sacramental fees was a point of contention between priest and peasant throughout the Austrian era. *Pravda pro uniiu. Dokumenty i materialy*, 2nd expanded ed. (Lviv, 1968), pp. 94 and 105–106, documents tension over this issue in 1788 and 1846.

91 This stereotype pervaded one of the booklets most widely distributed by priests to peasants: Father Stepan Kachala's *Shcho nas hubyt' a shcho nam pomochy mozhe. Pys'mo dlia rus'kykh selian* (Lviv, 1869). Kachala's booklet appears (anonymously) in a story by Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, who has one of his peasant characters say the following: "In some books you can read that the peasant of this land is indolent, a poor worker but a diligent drunkard, and stupid. The cantor once read us something like this, but thank God it isn't true." "Das Erntefest," *Galizische Geschichten* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 171–72. The theme of the drunken, lazy, and ignorant peasant permeated Galician sermon literature. Hankevych, *Sluchainyi propovidy*, pp. 16–17, 113–23. Iuliian Hankevych, *Nedel'nyi propovidy*, 2 vols. (Lviv, 1876), 1:142. Dobrians'kyi, *Nauky tserkovnyi*, pp. 44–45, 54–55, 89, 111, 134, 164, 170, 172–74, 187–89, 197, 203–206, 224, 229–36, 241, 243. See also Himka,

Friction over such matters was compounded by the peasants' traditional economic grievances against the clergy, particularly the objection to sacramental fees.[92] Thus when the Radical Party formed in 1890 began to publish alternative literature for the peasants, it immediately gained a foothold in the villages. The Greek Catholic church was put on the defensive. In 1892 the hierarchy forbade clergy and faithful to subscribe to the radical newspapers *Narod* and *Khliborob*.[93] Five years later the abbot of the Basilian monastery in Lviv, the future metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, counterattacked by establishing a new popular periodical for the peasantry, *Misionar'*.[94] Its "missionary" activities were aimed at the nominally Greek Catholic but now dangerously radicalized Ukrainian peasantry.

That the struggle for souls could be waged largely through the medium of the press pointed to another consequence of the priests' work in the village. The clergy had taught the peasantry the importance of newspapers, as part of its larger task of elevating the peasant culturally and strengthening the Ukrainian village institutionally. By the 1890s, this task had been accomplished so well that peasants could use their cultural elevation and village institutions for autonomous purposes. Not only could they use them against the priests if they so chose, but, most importantly, they could use them to bypass the priest altogether and enter into direct, independent contact with the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The services of the clergy as mediator were now dispensable: the period of the church's protectorate over the national movement had come to a close.

* * *

The crisis of the 1890s had, in the end, a beneficial influence on the church as church, since it forced the hierarchy to undertake the reinforcement of the church's spiritual foundations, which had never been strong. The crisis was also beneficial to the

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"Priests and Peasants," pp. 6, 10–11.

92 Himka, "Priests and Peasants," pp. 11–12.

93 Ivan Franko, "Movchaty i vidpovidaty!," in *Monoloh ateista*, pp. 194–95. Denys Lukianenko, *Ivan Franko v borot'bi proty relihii, tserkvy i Vatikanu* (Kiev, 1955), p. 37.

94 Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit*, p. 71.

intelligentsia and peasantry, who were able to emancipate themselves politically from the church. The Ukrainian nation had become mature enough to claim independence from the political guardianship of the church. This cannot obscure the fact, however, that it was precisely the Greek Catholic church that had done the most to accelerate the maturation of the Galician Ukrainians into nationhood.

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DOCUMENTS

Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Porte: A Document from the Ottoman Archives

ANDRÁS RIEDLMAYER and VICTOR OSTAPCHUK

Research in the Ottoman archives continues to add new material to our understanding of the history of the Ukraine and the Black Sea region during the seventeenth century. The document being published here, numbered E 8548 in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives in Istanbul, is the original Turkish text of a letter from Hetman Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to the Ottoman Sultan Meḥmed IV, written in Čyhyryn in January 1653.[1] Although Xmel'nyc'kyj maintained a correspondence with the Ottomans throughout his struggle with Poland, this document is the only extant Ottoman Turkish draft of one of his letters.[2] Given the vast number of Ottoman state papers preserved in Turkish and foreign collections, many of them still uncatalogued or otherwise inaccessible, it is likely that other items of a similar nature will eventually come to light. This letter was discovered in the Topkapı collection by the Turkish historian and archivist M. Çağatay Uluçay. It was first analyzed and published by Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay in a French translation in 1970, reprinted with minor changes in *Le Khanat de Crimée*.[3] The present article contains the first publication of the original Ottoman text and its first translation into English.

[1] We would like to thank Dr. Mihnea Berindei for providing us with a reproduction of E 8548. Victor Ostapchuk examined the original document in Istanbul in July 1983 to check certain details (ink, watermarks, etc.) not apparent from the reproduction; he is primarily responsible for the description and translation, while András Riedlmayer is primarily responsible for the commentary and analysis.

[2] E 8548 may be the letter to the Ottoman sultan dated January 1653 that is listed among the undiscovered documents of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj by I. Kryp''jakevyč and I. Butyč, eds., *Dokumenty Bohdana Xmel'nyc'koho, 1648–1657* (Kiev, 1961), p. 659. For further discussion of the dating and contents of this letter, see Victor Ostapchuk, "The Publication of Documents on the Crimean Khanate in the Topkapı Sarayı: New Sources for the History of the Black Sea Basin," in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 6, no. 4 (1982): 500–528, especially 515–20.

[3] Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les relations entre la Porte ottomane et les Cosaques zaporogues au milieu du XVII^e^ siècle: Une lettre inédite de Bohdan Hmelnicki au Padichah ottoman," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 11 (1970): 454–61, and A. Bennigsen et al, eds., *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı* (Paris and The Hague, 1978), pp. 191–96.

This document merits our attention for several reasons. First of all, it helps to fill a gap in the historical record of the Hetmanate's relations with the Ottomans during the crucial period when Xmel'nyc'kyj, through his son Tymiš, was militarily and politically involved in the affairs of the Porte's Moldavian vassal. While it does not alter our picture of that period, it does add a number of useful details.[4] For instance, it gives us Xmel'nyc'kyj's own version of the way in which his special relationship with the Porte had been initiated, and it allows us some insights into the nature of that relationship. The hetman's efforts on behalf of his former Ottoman sponsor, a governor recently fallen from grace, provide us with the unusual perspective of an attempt from the Ukrainian side to interfere in internal Ottoman politics. For the most part, the letter's contents are unexceptional. Announcing the arrival of an Ottoman envoy at Čyhyryn, the letter goes on to request Ottoman and Tatar aid against an expected Polish attack, offering promises of eternal fealty in return. It also deals with the fate of a number of Xmel'nyc'kyj's men—including an earlier Cossack envoy—who had fallen into Ottoman captivity, and discusses the problem of strained relations with neighboring Ottoman provincial governors. Other matters of importance were to be communicated verbally by the envoys carrying the letter, a common security precaution in seventeenth-century diplomatic practice. The main interest of the hetman's Turkish letter lies in what it can tell us about the mechanics of Xmel'nyc'kyj's Turkish diplomacy and about the workings of his chancery. Since most of the hetman's surviving letters to the Porte have been preserved in the form of copies in Polish or Ukrainian, the discovery of a Turkish correspondence, possibly produced in Čyhyryn, throws new light on the Hetmanate's diplomatic capabilities. In our present discussion we will concentrate on the formal aspects of the document, including the question of its provenance.

Xmel'nyc'kyj's letter to the sultan covers one side of a single folio sheet 56.7 cm. long and 43.2 cm. wide. The writing is arranged in two columns, starting about 0.8 cm. from the top of the page: lines 1–36 cover the right-hand side to the bottom edge, lines 37–58

[4] For a broader discussion of the place of this letter in the complex of Ottoman-Crimean-Ukrainian-Polish-Muscovite relations, see Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Les relations," pp. 454–59.

cover the top half of the left-hand side. The scribe left a margin of about 4.2 cm. at the sides and 1.8–2.1 cm. between the two columns. He wrote in black ink sprinkled with gold dust, applied especially liberally around the area of the signature.

Visible in the middle of the bottom half of the document is a watermark, showing a sunburst design surrounded by a circle, with six somewhat asymmetric rays radiating from a stylized "face" in the center. The design shows signs of deterioration, which, along with the slightly skewed chain lines, suggest that the mark is in a late state (see illustration, p. 473). This type of design does not appear among the watermarks used by local paper mills in the Ukraine, Poland, or Lithuania;[5] paper produced within the Ottoman Empire (Baghdad, Damascus) during the seventeenth century had no watermarks.[6] Hence we can assume that E 8548, wherever it was translated into Turkish, was written on imported stock. In this period paper from Italy, France, and the Low Countries was being exported in substantial quantities to both Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire, where it was much in demand by state chanceries. While we cannot match our watermark with the output of a particular mill, it can be classed with a type of sun watermarks seen in paper of Venetian and Florentine manufacture from the mid-1640s on.[7] For the purpose of determining where our document was written, it may be significant that the sun design does not appear among the 145 seventeenth-century patterns recorded in Nikolaev's catalogue of the watermarks of Ottoman documents.[8] An album of watermarks seen in Ukrainian documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on the other hand, does include

[5] O. Ja. Macjuk, *Papir ta filihrani na ukrajins'kyx zemljax (XVI—počatok XX st.)* (Kiev, 1974); Jadwiga Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigrany papierni położonych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej od początku XVI do połowy XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1969); E. Laucevičius, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV-XVIII a.* (Vilnius, 1967).

[6] Osman Ersoy, *XVIII ve XIX yüzyıllarda Türkiye'de kâğıt* (Ankara, 1963), pp. 15–30. The better grades of paper made in Damascus and Baghdad and imported from India, Iran, and Central Asia (Samarqand) were preferred for artistic uses, such as the production of fine manuscripts; imports from the West (Venice and France) were used for most state documents in the seventeenth century.

[7] Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950), nos. 3893, 3895, 3896.

[8] Vsevolod Nikolaev, *Watermarks of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1: *Watermarks of the Mediaeval Ottoman Documents in Bulgarian Libraries* (Sofia, 1954), pp. 63–117; Franz Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pascha* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 30–32, lists the watermarks of 84 Ottoman documents from the late seventeenth century, all but one written on Venetian paper, but again no sun design appears.

a sun design within a circle similar in type to that found in E 8548. This sunburst watermark, with irregular rays and the rough suggestion of a "face" in the center, appears in two Ukrainian documents dated 1663 and 1664.[9]

Judging from its appearance, our document is the fair copy of the Turkish text of Xmel'nyc'kyj's letter. The careful arrangement of the text on the page, the absence of obvious corrections or errors, the use of gold dust, and the formal elegance of the script—a highly legible and professional rendition of the *nesḫī* style—all show the hand of a practiced chancery scribe at work. However, some stylistic and linguistic features of the text suggest that the translator's grasp of the niceties of Ottoman diplomatics was at a somewhat less polished level. At times his syntax threatens to break under the strain of trying to render foreign courtesies in acceptable Ottoman clichés. At other times the rote formulas in Arabic and Persian and convoluted Ottoman give way to a startlingly straightforward and simple Turkish idiom.[10] This kind of stylistic mixture is reminiscent of writers from the Ottoman military bureaucracy, such as the seventeenth-century chronicler 'Abdülqādir Efendi, who had served as secretary of the janissary artillery corps.[11] Our translator was probably the product of a similar background and training.

[9] Ivan Kamanin and Oleksandra Vitvic'ka, *Vodjani znaky na paperi ukrajins'kyx dokumentiv XVI i XVII vv. (1566–1651)* (= *Zbirnyk Istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu Ukrajins'koji akademiji nauk*, 11) (Kiev, 1923), no. 1321; a projected volume of commentaries and indexes intended to accompany this album never appeared. The documents are identified only by date and dossier number in the Kiev Central Archive (Kyjivs'kyj central'nyj arxiv davnix aktiv). On the subsequent fate of that archive, see the forthcoming volume by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Archives and Manuscript Repositories of the USSR: The Ukraine and Moldavia* (Princeton University Press).

[10] An example of the former: *ševketlū ve se'ādetlū pādišāhïmuz ḥaẓretlerinüñ ulu ve yüğe vezīr-i se'ādetleri ṭarafïndan* 'from the great and exalted vizier of his felicity, his majesty, our glorious and felicitous padishah' (lines 5–6)—the phrasing sounds as clumsily contrived in Ottoman as it does in English. An example of the latter: *bunda kendüsiyle ḫōš gečinürdük ol ma'zūl olduqdan ṣoñra ortalïq düzen olmadï* 'we used to get along well with him here; after he was dismissed the situation became disordered' (lines 26–27). Nine of the eleven words in the first excerpt are of non-Turkish origin; in the second example, however, the ratio of foreign borrowings to Turkish roots is reversed.

[11] Topčïlar Kātibi 'Abdülqādir (fl. ca. 1644–1645), *Tārīḫ-i āl-i 'Os̱mān* MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex mxt. 130; Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 187.

The contrast between the often rough-hewn style of the Turkish text and the polished appearance of the fair copy of the letter suggests that E 8548 was the work of a chancery team and not of a single individual. In both Turkish and Western chanceries, the scribe who wrote out the fair copy of an important document was rarely the same person who composed the text. The technical sophistication of the script tells us that the scribe in this instance was a professional who had perfected his craft in an Ottoman bureau or scribal atelier. However, in the seventeenth century *nesḫī* was among the most common script forms, used for manuscript books as well as for public and private documents. Professional scribes (*kātib, ḫaṭṭāṭ*) with a good *nesḫī* hand could be found in every major provincial center of the Ottoman Empire, including the towns and fortresses of the Black Sea frontier. The actual drafting of letters of state was a task entrusted to experts of a much rarer sort, chancery stylists (*münšī*) trained in the subtleties of diplomatics and chancery etiquette. In order to compensate for the shortage of trained *münšī*s, chanceries used copybooks of correspondence models (*inšā'*) to supply the correct turns of phrase and epithets. The mixture of high and low style in the text of E 8548 tells us that the translation of Xmel'nyc'kyj's letter was probably drafted with the aid of such a copybook.

This still leaves open the question of where the Ukrainian hetman's letter was cast in its Turkish form. It was while searching for an answer to this question that we discovered a second, hitherto unnoted Turkish letter from Xmel'nyc'kyj to Sultan Meḥmed IV. Dated 24 October 1655, it has been preserved in translation among the state papers of Prince György Rákóczi II of Transylvania.[12] Although the translation is given in the seventeenth-century Hungarian idiom of the Transylvanian chancery, without indication of the original language, the text betrays its Turkish origin at first glance. Both the original heading of the letter and its signature protocol identify Xmel'nyc'kyj as "hetman of the Army of the Yellow

[12] Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Okmánytár II. Rákóczy György diplomacziai összeköttetéseihez*, Monumenta Hungariae Historica = Magyar történelmi emlékek, I. Osztály: Okmánytár, vol. 23 (Budapest, 1874), pp. 254–57; Kryp"jakevyč and Butyč reprinted the Hungarian text of this letter, omitting the original heading and the editor's annotations, alongside a (sometimes inexact) Ukrainian translation in *Dokumenty*, pp. 461–63. Szilágyi notes that the Hungarian text is a contemporary translation, but says nothing about the language of the original.

Reed (*az sárga nád hadának hetmanja*)," a distinctively Ottoman Turkish way of referring to the Zaporozhian Host.[13]

In other seventeenth-century Hungarian documents, and in contemporaneous Hungarian translations of letters from the Zaporozhians, we see the use of terms such as *az zaporuzki hadsereg* or *az zaporoviai kozákok* to designate the Host and *az kozák hetmány* or *zaporoviai hetman* to designate its leader.[14] Most of the hetman's own letters to the Rákóczis carry a signature protocol in Polish, even when the letters themselves are written in Latin.[15] This use of the term "Army of the Yellow Reed" appears to be a unicum among the Hungarian texts we have studied, but of course it is perfectly ordinary usage in letters written in Turkish, including our own document E 8548, where it appears both in the heading and in the signature protocol (lines 2 and 56–57: *Sarï Qamïš 'askerinüñ ḫaṭmanï*).

Parallels between E 8548 and the letter purloined by the Transylvanians go deeper than the aforesaid coincidence in terminology. Compare the following paragraphs of the Hungarian text, for instance, to the introductory passages in E 8548:

Letter of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, hetman of the Army of the Yellow Reed, to the imperial threshold, written from [the side of] Šāhīn Aġa:

Mighty and magnificent Turkish Emperor, whom all lands fear, our great and beneficent master; to our master we bow our faces with great humility down into the dust, wiping [our faces] in the dust before the noble threshold of your majesty; and as your true slaves we beg God the Merciful, our prayer being that He [God] might prolong his [majesty's] life and [fortunate] state for a long time unto the fullness of years, and make him victorious over all of his enemies. . . .[16]

The phrasing and formulas used are nearly identical, down to the typically Ottoman references to the sultan's court as "the imperial

[13] Derived from Sarï Qamïš (Yellow Reed), the Turkish name for the site of the first Zaporozhian headquarters at the Zaporozhian Sich; see Omeljan Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)," *Oriens* 6 (1953): 266–98, especially 292–98: "Anhang über die türkischen Bezeichnungen für die Ukraine und die Ukrainer."

[14] Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, pp. 48, 81, 127, 222, 223, 226, 233, 247, 273, 296, 309, 339, 355, 357, 487, 527; Áron Szilády and Sándor Szilágyi, eds., *Török-magyarkori államokmánytár*, vol. 6, = *Török-magyarkori történelmi emlékek*, I. Osztály, vol. 8 (Pest, 1871), 6:21, 47.

[15] Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, pp. 9, 10, 39, 86, 176, 235, 313; for instances where a Latin signature protocol is used, see pp. 361, 369.

[16] Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, pp. 254–55.

threshold" and to the act of wiping one's face in the dust of that threshold as a sign of humility and submission. Among numerous other Ottomanisms common to both texts are the phrases "the treaty [lit.: tying] and oath he swore with us" [E 8548 line 16: *bizümle 'ahd ü yemin èdüp*; Hungarian: *az mely kötést és szót tett velünk*] and "we have with all our will anew become slaves to (his majesty) our mighty master" [E 8548: line 32: *yeñi bašdan āsitāne-i se'ādetlerine derūn-ï dilden qul olduq*; Hungarian: *az mi hatalmas urunknak. . . ujalag minden akaratunkból szolgái löttünk*]. Therefore, it not only seems certain that the October 1655 letter from Xmel'nyc'kyj to the Porte fell into the hands of Rákóczi's agents when it was already in its Turkish form, but it also appears likely that the Turkish texts of the 1655 letter and of E 8548 were both based on the same copybook of models of correspondence.

In order to establish the locale where that copybook could have been used, and thus to locate the bureau that also translated E 8548, we must find out where and how the hetman's other Turkish letter to the Porte was diverted to Transylvania. The translation could have been done in any of three locations: Čyhyryn, Istanbul, or the divan of an Ottoman provincial governor on the road from the frontier to the capital. Ottoman frontier governors had their own translators, often using them to conduct local diplomacy with their foreign neighbors in languages other than Turkish, and they liked to question envoys passing through their provinces about the nature of their mission.[17] For a price, they might then pass on this information to interested parties. Siyāvuš Pasha, the governor of Silistra on the lower Danube, was one of these willing sources. In 1654 he even wrote to Xmel'nyc'kyj, chiding the latter about the fact that some Cossack envoys had attempted to bypass Silistra on their way to Istanbul without paying a call on him or bringing him letters.[18] He also appears to have met with the Cossack envoys carrying E 8548 to the Porte. We read in a report from S. Peiniger, Austrian resident in Istanbul, that in February 1653, "news has arrived from Siyāvuš Pasha in Silistria that a Cossack envoy has arrived there on his way to Constantinople; Xmel'nyc'kyj is asking the Tatars and Turks for aid, since the Poles have strengthened

[17] For examples, see Gustav Bayerle, *Ottoman Diplomacy in Hungary: Letters from the Pashas of Buda, 1590–1593* (Bloomington, Ind., 1972), and Richard Kreutel, *Zwischen Paschas und Generälen* (Graz, 1966).
[18] Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, pp. 702–703.

their forces mightily." He adds that in return for Turkish protection, the Ukrainian hetman had offered to submit to the Ottomans.[19] The subject and timing of Siyāvuš Pasha's news fit the particulars of E 8548 almost exactly, but there is no trace of the wording. A provincial governor might have his own dealings with foreign powers, he might even pass on information to them, but he could not be expected to open or to translate letters addressed to his sovereign. To do so would be an extremely serious violation of one of the basic tenets of the Ottoman way—he would be exceeding his *ḥadd*, the statutory and customary limits of that which would be permitted to a man of his rank. Such an infraction could easily cost him his head.

The next possible source to consider is the Ottoman capital, where official translators attached to the imperial divan routinely received, translated, and sent out the central government's foreign-language correspondence. Still other translators and interpreters were hired by the various resident foreign representatives, while the imperial divan itself delegated a Turkish interpreter to serve the needs of envoys arriving from the Zaporozhian Cossacks. If Xmel'nyc'kyj's letters arrived in a language other than Turkish, the capital had persons competent and authorized to translate such letters.[20] However, this raises the question of how the Transylvanians secured a Turkish copy of the hetman's letter. We know that Rákóczi's representatives at the Porte went to great lengths and expense to maintain relations with officials who could provide them

[19] From a report in the Austrian archives, cited in Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, ed., *Žerela do istoriji Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 12, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1911), p. 192.

[20] Prime Ministry Archives (Istanbul), Ibnülemîn hâriciye no. 184, Ali Emîrî/Meḥmed IV no. 9077, cited by Cengiz Orhonlu in *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Tercüman." Letters to Xmel'nyc'kyj from Bektaš Aġa and the grand vizier Murād Pasha, dated April 1650, indicate that at that date letters from the hetman arrived written "in the Ruthenian idiom" and had to be translated in the capital; *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej: Dokumenty i materialy*, 3 vols., published by Akademija nauk SSSR (Moscow, 1954), 2:436–37. Some of the Ottoman letters addressed to Xmel'nyc'kyj that were preserved in the Göttingen Codex (Turc. 29) also mention that the hetman's letters had been translated at the Porte: Jan Rypka, "Z korespondence Vysoké Porty s Bohdanem Chmelnickým," *Sborník venovaný Jaroslavu Bidlovi, Profesoru Karlovy University k šedesátým narozeninám*, ed. Miloš Weingart et al. (Prague, 1928), pp. 346–50, 482–98, esp. 348, 487; Rypka, "Weitere Beiträge zur Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmel'nyc'kyj," *Archiv Orientální* 2 (1930):262–83, esp. 268–69, 278; Rypka, "Další příspěvek ke korespondenci Vysoké Porty s Bohdanem Chmelnickým," *Časopis Národniho Musea* 105 (1931):209–31, esp. 215–16, 224.

with needed information. Among the sources cultivated by the Transylvanians were Z̲ülfiqār Aġa, chief translator of the imperial divan, Bektaš Aga, the commander of the janissary corps, and the interpreter assigned to arriving Cossack envoys.[22] These individuals were regularly primed and pumped for useful news, but the passing of actual documents was a difficult and delicate business. Thus, in 1651 Ferenc Földvári, Rákóczi's resident envoy in Istanbul, writes at length about his unsuccessful efforts to obtain a copy of the *'ahdnāme* (treaty) the Ottomans had just concluded with the Austrians. There had been little difficulty in obtaining information about the contents of the document—Bektaš Aġa had even consented to show Földvári the portion of the treaty dealing with Transylvania and Hungary. But when pressed for a written copy of the document, Bektaš Aġa had firmly declined.[22] It is difficult to imagine that Rákóczi's representative would have gone to similar trouble and expense to obtain a written copy of the Turkish translation of Xmel'nyc'kyj's October 1655 letter to the Porte. That letter deals with matters of marginal interest to the Transylvanians and it adds little to information Rákóczi had already received from friendly sources in Moldavia and the Ukraine.[23]

All of this implies that the October 1655 letter was already in its Turkish form before it reached the Ottoman capital, and we have good reason to suspect that like many others it never made it across the Danube on its way from Čyhyryn to Istanbul. With so many interested parties about, the waylaying of envoys was an all too common practice. We have earlier evidence that Vasile Lupu, the hospodar of Moldavia, had intercepted some of Xmel'nyc'kyj's letters to the Ottomans.[24] More telling in this regard is a letter, dated 23 August 1655, from János Boros, Rákóczi's agent at the court of the Wallachian hospodar in Tîrgovişte. Boros reports the presence of a Zaporozhian envoy, a Cossack priest carrying letters from Xmel'nyc'kyj to the Porte and boasting in public that the Swedes and the Cossacks had decided to make common cause. If Rákóczi can confirm that there is no substance to the envoy's boasts, then Boros proposes that:

[21] Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, pp. 59, 80, 82, 98, 106, 116–17 and passim.

[22] Letter to György Rákóczi II, dated 13 April 1651; ibid., pp. 48–52.

[23] Letter to Rákóczi from Gheorghe Ştefan, hospodar of Moldavia, dated 20 September 1655; ibid., pp. 247–48.

[24] Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 9, pt. 1 (Kiev, 1928), pp. 62, 132 ff.

we should not allow this Cossack priest [the envoy] to slip away and make his way to the Porte, because I can find such a way and method of arranging this that no one would know what had become of him. . . [There would be no danger of detection] because, my Gracious Lord, he is traveling to Turkey with only four companions at his side, and south of Bucharest they cannot spend the night in towns or villages but only on the open steppe. . . .[I have arranged that the hospodar] should give the priest only two pages to accompany him; those two, being reliable, will run away at the right moment when they enter the steppe close to the banks of the Danube. . .a year from now the Cossacks will still be waiting for their priest to return from the Porte.[25]

The evidence, though of necessity circumstantial, suggests that both Xmel'nyc'kyj's letter of October 1655 and document E 8548 had almost certainly been translated into Turkish before they crossed the Ottoman frontier. All signs point towards Čyhyryn, and there are good reasons to believe that the Hetmanate's chancery was in fact capable of such a task. Our best testimony to that effect comes from the writer of E 8548: "We had the letter which arrived [from the grand vizier] translated. . .[lines 8–9: *gelen kāġïdï terǧüme ètdürüp.* . .]." Translating the grand vizier's letter would have been a task requiring a fair amount of skill in Ottoman diplomatics, since such letters were designed as much for the display of Ottoman grandeur and eloquence as for the conveying of information.[26] Armed with such knowledge, and very likely also with a copybook of correspondence models, Xmel'nyc'kyj's translator should have been able to produce a Turkish text such as that of E 8548. There is still the question of where Xmel'nyc'kyj could have procured men with such skills for his chancery. The author of a recent work on Crimean Tatar diplomacy found himself faced with a similar problem, when he had to explain how the Crimean khans had been able to append written Polish translations—prepared in their chancery at Baxčysaraj [Bāġčesarāy]— to the

[25] Letter to György Rákóczi II; Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, pp. 232–34.

[26] The text of the letter from the grand vizier that prompted E 8548 may have been preserved in the Göttingen Codex (Turc. 29). Jan Rypka "Další příspěvek" pp. 220–24, gives the text of a letter from Tarḫunǧï Aḥmed Pasha (grand vizier June 1652–March 1653) to Xmel'nyc'kyj, bearing the date 22 Muḥarrem 1063 (23 December 1652) and dealing with matters discussed in E 8548 (for a discussion of this letter and an English translation of the relevant segment see Ostapchuk, "New Sources," pp. 517–18). Since an Ottoman directory of judicial districts, dated 1078 (1667–1668), gives the travel time from Istanbul to Özi (Očakiv) as 17 days, it is conceivable that Aḥmed Pasha's letter could have reached Čyhyryn by 13 January 1653 (the date of E 8548); Kemal Özergin, "Rumeli kadılıkları'nda 1078 düzenlenmesi," *Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya armağan* (Ankara, 1976), pp. 251–309, especially 279.

Turkish letters they sent to the rulers of Denmark.[27] He suggests that one source of translators may have been the Lithuanian Tatars, a bilingual group enjoying the unusual status of Muslims with the privileges of nobility in the Christian Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[28]

In fact, neither the Crimean khan nor Xmel'nyc'kyj had to look very far to find individuals who were equally at home on both sides of the Slavic-Turkic linguistic divide. On both sides there were renegades, as well as large numbers of captives who had acquired some knowledge of the language of their masters. Xmel'nyc'kyj himself is said to have learned Turkish during the two years he spent as a slave in the Istanbul naval arsenal following his capture at the Battle of Ţuţora (Cecora) in 1620.[29] Other Turkish speakers could be found among some of the leading officials of the Hetmanate. Fylon Džalalyj, who served as colonel (*polkovnyk*) of the Kropvyna Regiment, as general aide-de-camp (*general'nyj osaul*) to Xmel'nyc'kyj, and even as acting hetman during the Battle of Berestečko (1651), was a renegade Tatar. As early as 1648 Xmel'nyc'kyj had used Džalalyj to carry on negotiations with the Ottomans; Džalalyj's knowledge of Turkish may have been a factor in his selection as envoy.[30] Parfenij (Mustafa) Dyzdarov, quartermaster of the Poltava Regiment, was a former Turkish castellan [*dizdār*], a position of some importance in the Ottoman military hierarchy, requiring frequent communication with authorities in Istanbul.[31] While the prominence of these individuals marks them as exceptional, the types they represent were not uncommon in this period. The Cossack camps held a ready supply of renegades, of Muslim captives and of Cossacks returned from Turkish or Tatar

[27] Josef Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen, mit historisch-diplomatischen und sprachlichen Untersuchungen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1976), p. 48.

[28] For the historical origins of this group, see Shirin Akiner, "Oriental Borrowings in the Language of the Byelorussian Tatars," *Slavonic and East European Review* 56 (1978): 224–41, and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. "Lipḳa" (by Z. Abrahamowicz and J. Reychman); the Lithuanian Tatars reappear in Ukrainian and Crimean history in the person of General Sulejman Sul'kevič, installed by the Germans as "the Skoropads'kyj of the Crimea" in 1918.

[29] Pritsak, "Bündnis (1648)," pp. 281–82.

[30] Pritsak, "Bündnis (1648)," pp. 281–82; George Gajecky, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 2:633, 670. Džalalyj/Dzedzalyj is a corruption of his Islamic name, Čelālī. On the polyglot composition of Xmel'nyc'kyj's forces, see also F. P. Ševčenko, "Učast' predstavnykiv riznyx narodnostej u vyzvol'nij vijni 1648–1654 rr. na Ukrajini," *Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal*, 1978, no. 11, pp. 10–22.

[31] Gajecky, *Cossack Administration*, 2:521; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1971), 1:469.

captivity; at least some of them had the linguistic skills and literacy required of translators and scribes.[32] It was already known that Xmel'nyc'kyj had a chancery capable of conducting the Hetmanate's diplomacy in a number of languages and scripts, including Chancery Ruthenian, Polish, and Latin. In light of the evidence of these two letters, Ottoman Turkish might be added to this list.

Given our limited corpus, it may be too early to reach definite conclusions about the diplomatics of the hetman's Turkish letters, but document E 8548 and the October 1655 letter do share certain typological similarities that reveal an interesting mixture of Western and Islamic diplomatic usages.[33] The usual invocation of God's name, often just a sign of the cross in other documents of the Hetmanate, is replaced in E 8548 by its Muslim equivalent *huwa* 'He' (i.e., Allah), the simplest and most common form of the *da'vet* formula that introduces all Ottoman documents. In Western diplomatic practice this is followed by the *intitulatio*, in which the author of the document gives his own name and titles. Here it is omitted, as is frequently the case in Ottoman documents, and replaced by a heading that briefly describes the nature of the item, its author, and the person to whom it is addressed. Such headings were also used for chancery copies, but the headings of E 8548 and the hetman's letter of October 1655 do not include the word "copy" (*ṣūret*) or the certification formulas (*'ibāre-i taṣdīq*) that mark copies prepared in Ottoman chanceries. Certain physical features of E 8548, such as its layout and watermark and the scribe's use of gold dust, confirm that we are dealing with an original document. Both of the hetman's Turkish letters begin with a

32 On the diplomatics of the Čyhyryn chancery, see I. P. Ševčenko, "Dyplomatyčna služba na Ukrajini pid čas vyzvol'noji vijny 1648–1654 rr.," *Istoryčni džerela ta jix vykorystannja* 1 (1964): 81–114; Ivan Kryp"jakevyč, "Studiji nad deržavoju Xmel'nyc'koho: V. het'mans'ki universaly," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka* 147 (1927): 55–76. Ivan Nečaj, brother of the Braclav *polkovnyk* Danylo, is said to have spent four years in the Crimea, acquiring a knowledge of the language and of the art of translating; Ševčenko, "Diplomatyčna služba," p. 99. It should be noted that in spite of its "Ottomanized" form, the text of E 8548 fits in well with the diplomatics of Xmel'nyc'kyj's other known letters to the Porte and to the Crimean Tatars; cf. Kryp"jakevyč and Butyč, *Dokumenty*, nos. 55, 107, 127, 147, 153, 242, 243, 288, 353, suppl. no. 2.

33 In our discussion of the diplomatics of E 8548 we were guided by Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajączkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*, rev. and trans. A. S. Ehrenkreuz (Paris and The Hague, 1968), and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu medeniyet tarihi çerçevesinde Osmanlı paleografya ve diplomatik ilmi* (Istanbul, 1979). On the use of gold dust in Ottoman documents, cf. Lajos Fekete, "Török iratok a gr. Zichy-család birtokában," *Levéltári közlemények* 2 (1924): 70–86, esp. p. 75.

short form of the *inscriptio* (name and title of the addressee), followed by the customary Ottoman formulas of submission and prayers (*du'ā*) for the well-being of the padishah, expressed in nearly identical wording. The text of E 8548 breaks into the *narratio*, the statement of the circumstances that prompted the writing of the letter, in typically Ottoman fashion, with the Arabic formula *ba'dehu* 'but to continue' (lit.: 'after this'). This section is succeeded by a series of requests and petitions awaiting the disposition of the sultan, each one accompanied by promises of eternal fealty on the part of Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Zaporozhians. Finally, both documents add a paragraph introducing the bearers entrusted with the letters, certifying that their verbal statements may be relied upon, and urging (in the case of E 8548) that the envoys be sent back without delay or hindrance. The arrangement and formulation of the body of the text follow the norms of Ottoman diplomatics, but at the end of the letters we are once again reminded that these are documents of Western origin. Many Ottoman documents are unsigned, since the writer has usually been identified at the outset by the heading (*'unvān*), by a monogram (*tuġra, penče*) in the case of letters of state, and by the use of seals. Document E 8548 does carry a signature protocol, but it is worded in a peculiarly non-Ottoman way. The signator's name is accompanied by a literal Turkish translation of the formula *manu propria* (Ukrainian *rukoju vlasnoju* or *rukoju svoeju*, Polish *ręką własną* or *ręką swą*) that is customarily seen in documents signed in the hetman's own hand.[34]

Thus, document E 8548, whether it was translated in Čyhyryn or in Istanbul, represents a unique compromise that strives to fulfill the etiquettes of two chanceries, one Western and one Islamic. As such it is also of special interest to students of Ottoman diplomatics. A facsimile of the document is appended (pp. 466–68). In our translation of this document (pp. 469–72) we have tried to adhere closely to the literal meaning of the Ottoman Turkish text without sacrificing intelligibility. Any additions or deletions have been indicated by the use of brackets. Our aim was to present not only an accurate transmission of the message of the original, but also an image of Xmel'nyc'kyj's letter in its Turkish garb—the form in which it was presented to the Ottoman sultan in the winter of 1653.

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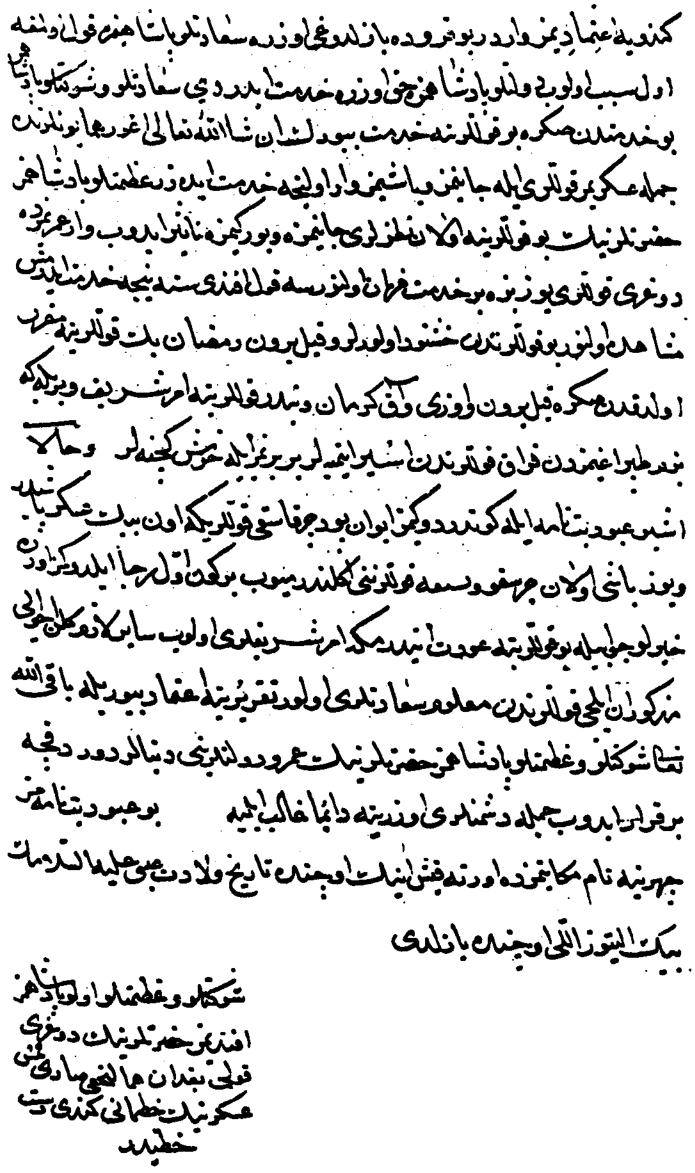
[34] Cf. Bohdan Struminsky, "Ukrainian Hetmans' *Universaly* (1678–1727) at the Lilly Library of Indiana University," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5 (1981):335–50.

س

ترجمهٔ سند نامهٔ عبودیت که کوندردوکی ایلچیلر ایله قوللری قلمانی بیک عسکر قتی صادر یمزونه سعادتلو همایون رکابه

سعادتلو و دولتلو و عظمتلو ولو پادشاهم اسلام پادشاهی حضرتلرینک مبارک آستانلرینه یوز
سوردوکیزدن صکره حق سبحانه و تعالی سعادتلو و قدرتلو پادشاهم حضرتلرینک هر کونینی بیک الیون یوزنه
جمله دشمنلری اوزرینه غالب ایلیه تمسّکنامه شوکتلو و سعادتلو پادشاهم حضرتلرینک اولو تو
سعادتلری طرفندن رضوان آغا قوللری مبارک کاغد ایله بو جانبه کلدکده عظیم عزّت ایله خوش کوروب
استقبال اولنوب کتوردوکی مبارک کاغدلری دخی عزّت و حرمت ایله آلوب جمله عسکریمز قوللری ایله
شوکتلو پادشاهم حضرتلرینک دوام عمر و دولتلرینه خیر دعالر ایلدک و کلن کاغدی ترجمه
ایتدروب مضمونده بو قوللرینه اولان لطف نظرلریکوز ایچون تمام واقف اولوب بیلورک کلدک
بوندن اوتوری تکراردن سعادتلو پادشاهم حضرتلرینک اولو دولتلری بنا دورده فخر
ایدوب زیاده اولمغه جمله عسکریمز ایله خیر دعالر ایدوب شکرلر ایلدک شوکتلو و عظمتلو
پادشاهم اولو افندیم حضرتلرندن رجا ایدرز که بو قوللرینی قوللقلرندن اتمیوب قدرمردن
نظرشریفلرندن دریغ بیورمیه‌لر که بر اولنجه سعادتلو پادشاهم حضرتلرینک قوللری یوزو جمله
بزم اوزریمزه دشمن عسکرلری ایله کلسورلر اکا کوره بو قوللرینه اولان مبارک نظرلرندن سیتزه
پاشاسنه امر ایدوب عسکری ایله بزه امداد ایتمه کله‌لر و سعادتلو قریم خانی حضرتلرینه دخی
نامهٔ همایون ارسال بیوریله اول‌دن نیجه کم بزمله عهد و یمین ایدوب سوز ایتمش ایسه اول عهد و یمین
موجبنجه انلر دخی جمله قریم عسکری ایله قالقوب بزم یاردمنه امداده کله‌لر دیو فرمان بیوریله بو بابده
سعادتلو پادشاهم حضرتلرندن زیاده رجامز اولوب منّت ایدرز نعمتدن بزه ممکن اولور ایسه
بو عسکرلر ایکی جانبدن بیله بو قوللرینه کلوب ملاقی اولالر ان شاء الله تعالی اولو سعادتلو

افندمز پادشاهم حضرتلرینک مبارک طالع شریفلری ایله دشمن اوزرینه غالب اولورز غور
هم اولنلردن اوتدن صکره هر نه جانبه مراد ایدرلر ایسه جمله عسکریمز قوللری ایله جان ایله تیمر
دورنجه صداقت اوزره خدمت ایدرز بو خصوصده عثماندیوریله بزم امره دمزونیجه قضا
ایدر مذکور قوللرندن سؤال اولندقده اعلام ایدر و سابقا قبل ایدوب کی کلان رمضان بک
قوللری سعادتلو افندمز پادشاهم حضرتلرینه خلاف اونها ایله سنجاغین آخره ویرمشلر
بو خصوصده طوغری یازارزکه بو قوللری سعادتلو پادشاهم حضرتلرینه قولا ومنقه
رمضان بک قوللری سبب اولوب بونده کندو سبیله خوش کچنوردک و امعزول اولندقده صکره
اورتلودوزن دندری بو قوللری واصل اولام آدمری اوزریه کاغدلر ایله کوندرمشیدک ومصلحت
بک معزول اولنوب دنو آدمز دخی کلدی لکن سعادتلو پادشاهم حضرتلری وزیر اعظم
قوللری بولوب خلافی بدوب برنفر بولدکی تیمر ایله معا بو جانبه ارسال ایلدیلر بو لطفلردن او تور
دخی جمله مز عسکرمز ایله سعادتلو پادشاه اسلام حضرتلرینک عمر و دولتلری زیاده وما
علیهم خیر دعالر ایدوب جمله مز شکرلردن بو یوزدن اولان مرحمتلری ایچون کی باشدن
آستانه سعادتلرینه درون دلدن قول اولدق بوندن غیری کی نفر بولدانیمر وطربزی
اسنابنولده درنا خویره سیرا ولشلردر اطلاق بیورلسنه فرمان شریفلرین رجا ایدرز
سعادتلو پادشاهم حضرتلرینه سیرا ولشلردر بونده کلوب بنه سعادتلو پادشاهم
حضرتلرینک خدمتلرنده قوللری ایدرلر هم رمضان بک قوللرینه کندو سنجاغی بنه احسان
اولنمق جمله عسکریمز قوللری ایله رجا ایدرز زیرا بو محله خوش کچندی دوغری قوللری اولمغله



TRANSLATION

Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, E 8548

HE! [Invocation to God]

This is a translation of the letter of subservience (*'ubūdiyyetnāme*) sent to the imperial presence (*rikāb-i hümāyun*, lit.: the imperial stirrup), the abode of felicity, by his [majesty's, the sultan's] slave, the hetman of the Zaporozhian Host (*Sarï Qamïš 'askerinüñ ḫatmānï*, lit.: hetman of the Army of the Yelloq Reed), with his envoy:

"Having prostrated ourselves (lit.: wiped our faces) in the dust of the blessed threshold of our fortunate, magnificent and great padishah, his majesty the padishah of Islam, [we pray that] God—may He be glorified and exalted!—might multiply each day [in the allotted lifetime] of our felicitous and powerful padishah by a thousand and render him victorious over all his enemies.

"But to continue, when his [majesty's] slave Rïḍvān Aġa arrived here with a blessed letter from [his excellency,] the great and exalted vizier of his felicity, his majesty, our glorious and felicitous padishah, he was welcomed with great honor; and the blessed letter which he brought was received with great honor and respect. Together with all our Host, his [majesty's] slaves, we prayed for the continuation of the life and good fortune of his majesty, our mighty and great padishah. We had the letter which arrived translated, and we became fully aware of and acquainted with [its contents]; thus we came to comprehend the favor of your [majesty's] consideration for this slave of his that was expressed therein. Because of this, once again, we held celebrations of rejoicing with all our Host, and we prayed that the great good fortune of his majesty, our felicitous padishah, may stand firm and increase for as long as the world endures. We ask our glorious and magnificent padishah, his majesty our great master, that he not refuse these slaves of his [the honor of] being in his servitude, and that he not withhold from us his noble favor, because as long as we remain as one (*bir olunǧa*) we are slaves of his majesty, our felicitous padishah.

"At present, our enemy is marching upon us with his armies. In view of this, as a blessed consideration [on the part] of his [majesty] for these slaves of his, may his [majesty] issue a command (*emr*) to the governor (*paša*) of Silistra to come with his army to our aid. And may an imperial letter of state (*nāme-i hümāyun*) be sent also to his excellency, the felicitous khan of the Crimea. A long time ago, the khan swore a treaty and oath [of alliance] with us and gave his word; may a rescript (*fermān*) be issued [instructing] him and the entire Crimean army to set forth and come to our assistance in compliance with that treaty and oath (*'ahd ü yemīn*). In this matter we ask as a great favor from his majesty, our felicitous padishah, that these [two] armies should converge as fast as possible

from both directions to join forces with these slaves of his [majesty]; for this we would be most grateful. If God—may He be exalted!— wills it, [armed] with the noble and blessed, ever-ascendant good fortune of our great and felicitous master, his majesty our padishah, we will overcome the enemy. After this, in whichever direction [his majesty] commands us [to fight] for his imperial cause, we will faithfully render service with all our Host, his [majesty's] slaves for as long as our lives last and our heads remain [on our shoulders]. May [his majesty] be pleased to trust [us] in this matter: when the aforementioned [Rïḍvān Aġa], his majesty's slave, is put to the question, [he] will report on how much is necessary.

"And [in the matter of] his [majesty's] slave Ramażān Beg, who was previously the governor (*beg*) of Qïl Burun [Kinburn]: due to a negative recommendation to our felicitous and great master, his majesty our padishah, his [Ramażān Beg's] province (*sanǧaq*) was conferred upon another. In this matter we write the truth [when we say] that it was his [majesty's] slave Ramażān Beg who caused this slave of his [majesty] to become a slave to his majesty, our felicitous and great padishah. We used to have good relations with him here; after he was dismissed, the situation became disordered. This slave of his [majesty] had sent a man of ours named Vāṣïl [Vasyl'] to Özi [Očakiv] with some letters, [but] thereafter, Ramażān Beg having been dismissed, our man did not return. However, [acting] on behalf of our felicitous, exalted padishah, the grand vizier located and freed his [majesty's] slave [Vasyl'] and dispatched him hither in the company of one of our comrades.[1] It is also because of these favors that all of us, with all our Host, offer great prayers [beseeching God] to augment the life and good fortune of his majesty, the felicitous padishah of Islam. Once again all of us, for the mercy that has come to pass, have from the depths of our hearts anew become slaves to his [majesty's] threshold of felicity.

"In addition to these [matters], two of our comrades, his [majesty's] slaves, are in Istanbul [whither they were] unjustly taken as captives. We request his [majesty's] noble rescript ordering that they be freed. They were taken as captives while in the service of our felicitous and exalted padishah. When they return hither they will once again render servitude

[1] A letter from the grand vizier Tarḫunǧï Aḥmed Pasha to Xmel'nyc'kyj, cited in Rypka, "Další příspěvek," pp. 220–224, gives the name of the waylaid Cossack envoy as Vasyl' Jurkovan (Vāṣïl Yūrqovān); *-ovan/-ov"jan* (cf. Galician-Ukrainian Hryc'kov"jan) is a rare variant of the Ukrainian patronymic suffix more commonly encountered in the form *-čyč*. Among the Cossacks listed in the 1649 Zboriv Register we find a Vasyl' Jurčyč of the headquarters company of the Kal'nyk-Vinnycja Regiment, who may be the same individual as the Vasyl' of E 8548; Osyp Bodjans'kyj, ed., "Reestr vsego Vojska zaporožskago posle Zborovskago dogovora s korolem pol'skim Janom Kazimirom sostavlennye 16.x.1649," *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostei rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete*, n.s. 89, pt. 2 (1874): 195. Members of the headquarters company served in the military chancellery and were frequently used on diplomatic missions as translators and interpreters (*buty, tovmačy*); see Ševčenko, "Dyplomatyčna služba," pp. 81–114. We would like to thank our colleague George Gajecky for his help with the identifications.

in the service of his majesty, our felicitous padishah. And also, together with all our Host, his [majesty's] slaves, we request that his [majesty's] slave Ramaẓān Beg be granted his own [former] province (*sanǧaq*), for he used to have good relations with us here. Since [Ramaẓān Beg] is his [majesty's] true slave, we place our trust in him. As is written above, it was he who was the cause of our becoming slaves to our felicitous padishah [and] he has rendered rightful service to our fortunate padishah.

"After this service, may our fortunate and majestic padishah command these slaves of his [i.e., Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Zaporozhians] to perform any service; and if God— may He be exalted!— is willing, we will render service in his [majesty's] imperial cause with all our Host, his [majesty's] slaves, for as long as our lives last and our heads remain [on our shoulders]. The favors [shown] by his majesty the great padishah to these slaves of his have made an impression upon our souls and our hearts. For the rest of our lives we are his [majesty's] true slaves. If we be ordered to [perform] a service, it shall be seen demonstrated how [well] a slave can serve his master, and [his majesty the sultan] will be pleased with these slaves of his.

"And after Qïl Burun has [once again] been conferred upon his [majesty's] slave Ramaẓān Beg, may a noble command be issued to his [majesty's] slaves in Qïl Burun, Özi, Aqkermān [Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyj], and Bender [Bendery] that they not take captives from our land from among his [majesty's] slaves, the Cossacks, [but rather] let them get along amicably with us.

"As for the present, do not permit those whom we have sent [as bearers] of this letter of subservience, his [majesty's] slaves Īvān Pōdčerqāsqī,[2] commander of 10,000 troops, and Čeresqovenqo (?), commander of 100 [troops], to tarry [in Istanbul]. As we have requested, may a noble command be issued that they be sent back as soon as possible with a favorable response to this slave of his [majesty's]. Other needful matters can be conveyed to his [majesty] by the aforementioned envoys, his [majesty's] slaves. Their statement is to be relied upon. May the everlasting God—be He exalted!—make the life and good fortune of his majesty, our mighty and great padishah, endure for as long as the worlds remain, and may He always make him victorious over all his enemies.

"This, our letter of subservience, was written in our residence (*mekānïmuz*) named Čehrīne [Čyhyryn] on the third [day] of the middle

[2] The Colonel Ivan "Podčerkas'kyj" ("from near Čerkasy") of this letter is very likely the well-known Colonel Ivan Volevačenko, a noble Cossack whose family owned large estates on the Cybul'nyk river southeast of Čerkasy; V. Lypyns'kyj (W. Lipiński), *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1912), p. 268. Volevačenko had previously served as Xmel'nyc'kyj's envoy to the Crimean *qalġa* (heir apparent) Qrïm Giray during the Wallachian campaign in September 1650. In July 1653 he is mentioned as acting colonel (*nakaznyj polkovnyk*) of the Čyhyryn Regiment, having recently returned from Moldavia with dispatches from the hetman's son, Tymiš; Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 9, pt. 1: 81, 564, 566, 568.

month of winter (*orta qïš ayïnuñ üčinde*)[3] of the date one thousand six hundred and fifty-three [from] the birth of Jesus—peace be upon him![4]

"[This] is [given in] writing in the own hand (*kendi dest ḫaṭṭïdur*) of Boġdān Ḫmālničqī [Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj][5] hetman of the Zaporozhian Host [lit.: the Army of the Yellow Reed], true slave to his majesty our master, our mighty and magnificent padishah."

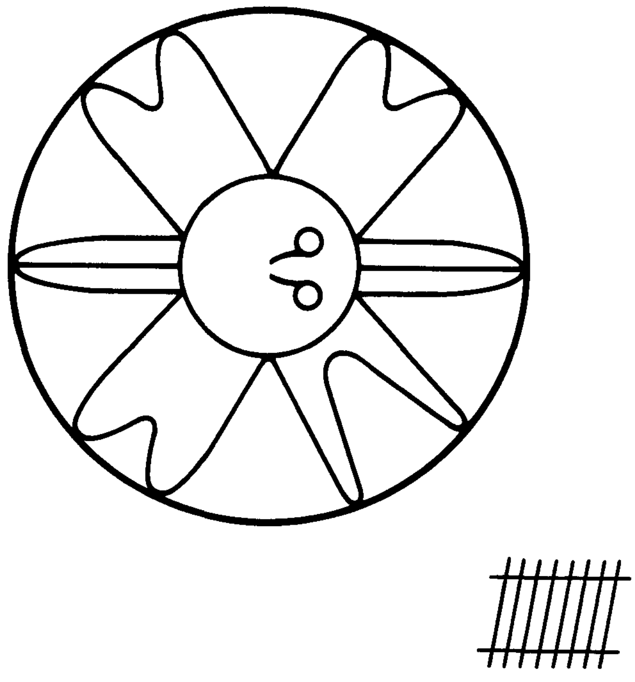
[3] According to an almanac included in a seventeenth-century Ottoman chancery manual, the term "middle month of winter" (*evsaṭ-i šitā*) was another name for the solar month of January (*Yanāris, Kānūn-i s̱ānī*); Sa'dī Čelebi, *Inšā'* MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, HS. or. oct. 917, fol. 169b. The solar calendar in most widespread use within the Ottoman Empire, called *Taqvīm-i Rūmī*, had months and days corresponding to the Julian (O.S.) calendar. Thus "the third of the middle month of winter" probably represents January 3 (O.S.)/January 13 (N.S.). A letter to György Rákóczi II written in Hungarian by Ẕülfiqār Aġa, chief translator of the Porte, expressly uses Old Style dating: "Datum Constantinápoly 11. die Septembris az ó számmal 1652" (September 11 by the old [system of] numbering); Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, p. 117.

[4] The use of Muslim invocations and prayer-formulas, such as *'aleyhi's-selām* 'peace be upon him' (customarily inserted after every mention of a prophet recognized by Islam, such as Jesus), is yet another indication that our translator was or had been a Muslim.

[5] Since the Slavic sound *c* does not occur in the Turkish phonemic inventory, it was usually rendered as *č* in Ottoman; Cf. Tibor Halasi-Kun, "Evliya Çelebi as Linguist," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979–80) = *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* (Cambridge, Mass.): 376–82. Among the foreign titles thus transformed were those of the ruler of Muscovy and his consort, who appear in Turkish sources as the *čar* and the *čariče*, respectively.

WATERMARK

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diameter of outer circle: 37 mm.-40 mm.

diameter of inner circle: 13 mm.-14 mm.

REVIEW ARTICLES

A New Discovery: Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century

PETER B. GOLDEN

KHAZARIAN HEBREW DOCUMENTS OF THE TENTH CENTURY. By *Norman Golb* and *Omeljan Pritsak*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982. xvi, 166 pp. $38.50.

Strewn with pitfalls and abounding in controversies, the reconstruction of the history of medieval Western Eurasia, the meeting-ground of Indo-European, Altaic, and Uralic peoples, has always been a complex and formidable task. It is an area where sources—never plentiful, and scattered in a great variety of languages and historiographical traditions—must often be cajoled into revealing their inner secrets. Hence, the publication of a new and important source, a tenth-century Khazarian Hebrew document from Kiev, is a truly important event. The circumstance that it is accompanied by a revised (and improved) edition of a previously known source which itself has generated more than a few controversies (the "Schechter letter," like the "Kievan letter," comes from the Cairo Geniza collection housed at Cambridge University) makes it only more welcome.

In part 1 of this book Norman Golb's primary concerns are philological and lie in the area of Hebraistics and Judaica. He deals with the discovery and description of the Kievan letter (it was Golb who first posited its Khazarian provenance) and provides an annotated edition and translation of the text. In part 2 Golb, in addition to presenting a reedition and retranslation of the Schechter letter (the "Anonymous Cambridge" of previous editions), has attempted to place it within the larger body of the Khazarian Hebrew correspondence associated with Ḥasdai b. Šaprûṭ, the Jewish courtier of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova. Quite rightly, his sections are focused on issues pertaining to the authenticity of the documents. Each of Golb's essays is followed by a series of wide-ranging and at times provocative excurses by Omeljan Pritsak, which attempt to place the documents and their data within a larger Eurasian ethno-linguistic and historical context. Many of the issues under discussion have long histories of controversy. Hence, some of the authors' assertions, presented throughout with a broad erudition and vigorous argumentation, will undoubtedly call forth dissenting voices.

The Kievan letter, according to our authors the earliest document to contain the name Kiev (*Qyywb̲* = *Qiyyob̲* ~ *Qiyyâ°β*), is the autograph of a letter composed in Kiev by (presumably) prominent members of the Khazar Jewish community (*qahal šel Qiyyob̲*) resident there. It is directed to the "holy communities" abroad and describes the plight of Jacob b. R. Ḥanukkah, whose brother, having borrowed money from "Gentiles" (of unspecified affiliation), was robbed and slain. The unfortunate Jacob, who stood surety for his brother's loan, was taken captive by his brother's creditors. Released a year later, after the signatories of the letter paid 60 *zeqûqîm* (units of currency), he was now being sent to raise the remaining 40 *zeqûqîm* of the debt. The events described in this letter (unlike the Schechter letter) are not of great historical import. Rather, the document's significance lies in the glimpse it provides of the Khazar Jewish community of Kiev. In particular, the names of the signatories, Semitic and non-Semitic, may well create a cottage industry among Turkologists. Of equal significance is the inscription, in a variant of the runiform script widespread among the Turkic peoples of Eurasia, found in the bottom lefthand corner of the letter. Although other runiform material has been found in sites believed to be associated with the Khazars, especially in the Saltovo-Majaki region,[1] and a new runiform text of almost 100 characters from this area has recently come to light and awaits publication,[2] the runiform characters of the Kievan letter are the only ones thus far that we can with absolute certainty connect with the Khazars. The other materials may prove to be Khazar, but they may also be attributed to other Turkic groupings living on Khazar territory.

The authors draw some far-reaching conclusions from the letter, the contents of which shed light not only on the character of Khazar Jewry, but on the early history of Rus'. Since the letter is an autograph, there can be no question of later interpolations or tendentious meddling with its contents. Golb argues that in consideration of the palaeographic data the dating of the letter "must be brought back to a period near the beginning of the accumulation of the Genizah papers," i.e., to the tenth century. The document is written in an educated Hebrew, bespeaking some level of Jewish education, and is signed by Jews who possess "the elements of rabbinical Jewish religion" and bear mixed Semitic and non-Semitic (Khazar) names. The Hebrew names, primarily Pentateuchal or hierophoric in character, differ from contemporary Jewish names in other communities in some respects, but they are of the same type as those found in other Khazar Hebrew documents (the Schechter letter and the Ḥasdai b. Šaprûṭ-

[1] Cf. most recently S. G. Kljaštornyj, "Xazarskaja nadpis' na amfore s gorodišča Majaki," *Sovetskaja arxeologija* 1 (1979): 270–75.

[2] Cs. Bálint, "Some Archaeological Addenda to P. Golden's Khazar Studies," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 35, nos. 2–3 (1981): 410.

Joseph correspondence). The character of the names points to a proselytic origin. Their association with the Turkic world is further underscored by the runiform inscription (discussed below). These factors, as Golb suggests in his introduction, give the document an "unparalleled value" and taken as a whole not only end all doubt that the Khazars were Judaized, but also cast "serious doubt on the belief. . . that the Khazar conversion . . . was limited to the royal Khazarians and some members of the aristocracy." Rather, the letter demonstrates "bona fide proselytic activity in Khazaria extending probably to large segments of the urban population." The fact that some of the signatories bear the names *kôhên* and *lêvî*, according to Golb, points to their shamanic origins. These were *qams* (Turkic shamans) who "underwent. . . a process of sacerdotal metamorphosis" and would later claim Levitic descent. In summation (p. 32) Golb notes "the new Kievan letter may then be said to support, and indeed to demonstrate, the authenticity of the other Hebrew texts pertaining to the Khazar Jews, and together with them show that Khazarian Judaism was not limited to the rulers but, rather, was well rooted in the territories of Khazaria, reaching even to its border city of Kiev."

On the larger question of the Khazar conversion (which is not touched on in the Kievan letter, but is treated in detail in the Schechter letter), Golb suggests that the Khazars converted "sometime in the eighth or early ninth century from a tripartite form of Tengri religion to monotheistic proto-Judaism and thence to genuine rabbinical Jewish religion at the time of the spiritual reforms instituted by King Obadiyah" (p. 25). The conversions were influenced by Jews from Iraq and elsewhere who came to Khazaria. The institution of the dual kingship (the *Qağan – beg/ šad/ yilig* arrangement) was a consequence of Judaization. The process of "monarchical judaization" was reflected in changes from Turkic to Hebrew names. And finally, the various arguments to show that Khazar Judaism was Rabbinical and not Qaraite in character are adduced.[3]

Golb may be correct in his assertions regarding the extent of Khazar Judaization and perhaps even sacerdotal metamorphoses. These are reasonable speculations from the meager data on hand. They should, however, be presented as hypotheses, not established fact. The origins of the dual-qağanate and the "reforms" of Obadiyah, as presented here, are also highly conjectural. The Khazar dual-qağanate (attested in other nomadic, Turkic societies), with its ceremonial/sacral king who lived in virtual confinement in his palace and whose presence brought *qut* ("holy good fortune") to the polity, and its war-king, the *beg/ šad/ yilig* who was in charge of the day-to-day operations of the state, is a phenomenon that is widely noted in anthropological literature. The qağan, as a bearer of the

[3] These have been more thoroughly treated in Zvi Ankori's *The Karaites in Byzantium* (New York and Jerusalem, 1959), pp. 64–79.

holy blood of the charismatic royal clan of the Türks, was the talisman for the good fortune of the state. He was to be kept pure and undefiled: Hence his isolation and tabuization. There is no evidence to indicate that judaization played any role in this process which, undoubtedly, antedated it. The "reforms" of Obadiyah, posited on one ambiguous passage in the Ḥasdai b. Šaprûṭ-Joseph correspondence, while certainly possible, perhaps even unremarkable in his generation, require far more documentary substantiation.

In his discussion of the Khazar names and the runiform notation Pritsak attempts to resolve the much-debated question of the place of Khazar within the Altaic world. Was the language Common Turkic or Oğuric ("Hunno-Bolgaric" in Pritsak's terminology), an "aberrant" branch of Turkic (viewed by some as a separate grouping within Altaic)? As Pritsak notes, both Common Turkic and Oğuric were to be found in polyglot Khazaria. The linguistic material in question here he associates with Oğuric and, indeed, argues that deciphering the Kievan letter's runiform notation resolves the question of Khazar's linguistic affinities. He reads the inscription as *(h)oqurüm* "I have read" (= Common Turkic *oqudum*, *oqudım*, etc.), clearly showing Hunno-Bolgaric features. In light of the new, potentially Khazar runiform material being unearthed, the variety of runiform scripts used in Western Eurasia, and the still problematic chronology of the Oğuric shift $d > \delta > z > r$, this reading, while certainly possible, cannot be considered conclusive. Much more comparative data is needed. Similarly, Pritsak's reading of the Khazar names and toponyms which amply display his enormous erudition in the complex questions of Altaic ethnolinguistic history may be completely correct or may be open to other interpretations. The data, at present, are too meager to allow any but tentative conclusions.

Typical of some of the difficulties involved is Pritsak's treatment of the garbled toponym هب نلع *hb nl'* found only in the one manuscript we have of Ibn Rusta's *Kitâb al-A'lâq al-Nafîsa.* He emends it to هب بلغ *hb blğ*: $H^{a}p\ B^{a}l^{i}\check{g}$, which, he suggests, is the Hunno-Bolgaric equivalent of * ختبلغ *xtblğ*: $X^{u}tb^{a}l^{i}\check{g}$ = *Qut Balığ* ("Charisma-town"), another badly garbled toponym found alongside هب نلع in Ibn Rusta and also recorded, in equally jumbled forms, in Gardîzî, the *Hudûd al-'Âlam*, al-Bakrî and al-Marwazî. He deduces the existence of a Hunno-Bolgaric *hap* on the basis of Middle Mongolian **hap* 'Zauberei, Hexung,' 'volšebstvo, koldovstvo,'[4]

[4] N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 43; F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p. 1; M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen* (Helsinki, 1961), p. 21. It was borrowed into Siberian Turkic and Yaqut; see S. Kałużyński, *Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache* (Warsaw, 1961), p. 129. It is also found in Tungusic; see V. I. Cincius et al., *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tungusoman'čžurskix jazykov*, vol. 2 (Leningrad, 1977), p. 316. It may, in fact, be

which he derives, in turn, from a hypothetical T'ang-period Chinese loanword, 法 (pronounced *fa* in Modern Chinese), which in T'ang times was **piwăp/piwap/pap* (the shift in Mongol of $p > h > \emptyset$ is well attested)[5] 'law, model, doctrine, custom'. The term is unattested in Čuvaš, the only living linguistic descendant of Oğuric. Čuvaš, however, does have *xăt* (< *qut*) 'ujut, udobstvo, blagopolučie, ščast'e, udača'.[6] The semantic jump required from Chinese *fa* (**pap*, etc.) 'law, model doctrine'[7] to Mongolian and Turkic "charm, spell" is, indeed, formidable. The further jump, from "charm, spell" to "charisma" (in the sense of "heavenly good fortune, favor bestowed by Heaven"), is perhaps closer to the mark (cf. Korean *kut* 'sorcerer's practice, magic' which Ramstedt[8] connects with Tung. *kutu* 'happiness, fortune', manču *xutu* 'soul of the departed, ghost', Mong. *qutug* 'happiness or glory given by destiny, the majesty of a ruler', Turk. *qut* 'good fortune, majesty'). But are we justified in seeing *hap* (whatever its ultimate origins) in the Ibn Rusta text? It is an elegant construction, but because of the lack of corroborating data, it must remain conjectural. The same may be said of Pritsak's identification of the name *Bulan* (*Bolan* in his reading), the Khazar ruler who converted to Judaism in the account given in Joseph's letter to Ḥasdai b. Šaprûṭ, with *Bolčan*, which he suggests is its Hunno-Bolgaric equivalent. The name *Bolčan* (*Bulčan*) appears in the Ta'rîx al-Bâb s.a. 288/901 as *Kasâ b. bljân* and (not noted by Pritsak) in the *K'art'lis C'xovreba* (ed. S. Qauxč'išvili [Tbilisi, 1955], vol. 1, pp. 249, 250) ca. 800 as *Bluč'an*, *Bulč'an*, *Bulǰan*. There are no compelling reasons, textual or contextual, to connect them.

The Kabar problem, treated in some detail, presents a more complicated picture. Pritsak maintains that the Turkic tribes that formed the bulwark of the Western Türk Qağanate (from which the Khazar state arose) were the Qabars = the Κάβαροι (Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote concerning them in the mid-tenth century; see his *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins [Washington, D. C., 1967], col. 39) = the *A-pa* (reconstructed as *'â-b'uât* = *Abar* < *Qabar*; the sporadic loss of initial *q-/k-* is attested in Turkic), found in the biogra-

connected with Common Turkic *arba-* (< *ab* + *ra* with metathesis "zavoraživat', zakoldovyvat', zaklinat'"; see E. Sevortjan, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1974), pp. 168–70.

5 See B. Kalgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm, 1972), pp. 170–71, no. 642k; P. Pelliot, "Les mots à *h* initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongol des XIIIe et XIVe siècles," *Journal Asiatique* 206 (1925): 197, 257–58; G. J. Ramstedt, *Studies in Korean Etymology* (Helsinki, 1949), p. 198.

6 V. G. Egorov, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' čuvašskogo jazyka* (Čeboksary, 1964), p. 295; N. A. Andreev, *Čuvašsko-russkij slovar'* (Moscow, 1961), p. 493.

7 It does appear in Turkic as *wap* 'law, doctrine'; see K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 169.

8 Ramstedt, *Studies*, p. 132.

phies of the *Sui shu*.[9] Aside from A-pa, which undoubtedly reflects a form **Apar* but may only be conjectured to derive from an original **Qabar*, we have no evidence for the Qabars until Constantine Porphyrogenitus noted them in the *DAI* and perhaps the *kyḇr* of the Kievan letter. Indeed, if the shift *Qabar* > *Abar* had already occurred ca. 750, as Pritsak implies, why do we have later forms with initial *q*? Pritsak associates the qağanal line with the *Qabar* tribes. He asserts that the Beg and his clan first accepted Judaism and then "in connection with certain military and political events, the Bäg (whose support was probably based on the native Khazar-Säbär population) sometime in the first half of the ninth century in effect usurped the supreme power of the khaganate. This evoked a reaction by the Kabars. They revolted probably in the thirties of the ninth century, as attested by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, but this uprising was unsuccessful. A portion of the Kabarian tribes, evidently those principally involved in the revolt, left Khazaria proper; Constantine refers specifically to three Kabarian tribes that entered into the confederation of the future Hungarians. . ." (p. 36). Pritsak then introduces the evidence of the *Sêfer Yôsippôn*, a highly problematic Hebrew source believed to have been composed "in southern Italy or Sicily before A.D 950." In an Arabic translation of the *Yôsippôn* (Leningrad MS), the ethnonym *Ṭwrqy* of the Hebrew text (which Pritsak identifies with the Τοῦρκοι of the *DAI*) is replaced by *xybr*, which he reads as *Ḵiâḇar*, i.e., the Κάβαροι. *Ṭwrqy*/Τοῦρκοι, in this formulation, is "the name of the old state" and Κάβαροι is the "tribal name of those Turkic garrisons that were the mainstay of the khaganate's power in the northern Caucasus."

There are a number of complications here. First of all, the notice on the Kabar revolt in *De Administrando Imperio*, our only source, does not say one word about the Beg, much less his alleged usurpation. We have no evidence to suppose that the Qağan-Beg relationship was anything other than the sacral king-war king relationship well attested elsewhere. The revolt, the causes of which are left unexplained by Constantine, could have been sparked by an internal power struggle, but it may be viewed just as easily as a result of inter-clan bickering. Such episodes were typical of nomadic tribal confederations. The Orxon inscriptions speak eloquently of the struggles waged by the Türk-Ašina qağans to keep under control even those clans closest to them. Secondly, the term Τοῦρκοι used by Constantine is generally recognized as the Byzantine designation for the

9 See Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1958), p. 108. They were part of the *T'ie-lê* confederation, a grouping of tribes in both the eastern and western zones of the Türk state. The western *T'ie-lê* are generally assumed to be Oğuric; see K. Czeglédy, *A nomád népek vándorlása napkelettől napnyugatig* (Budapest, 1969).

Hungarians.[10] Indeed, the *DAI* sharply distinguishes between the Τοῦρκοι and the Κάβαροι. Moreover, *Ṭwrqy* has another tradition in the Hebrew sources (the Schechter document) where it appears to refer to the Oğuz (using the Slavic term *Torki*!). In short, Pritsak's thesis and attendant identifications cannot be maintained without further evidence. The notice in *De Administrando Imperii* on the Kabars (chap. 39) clearly states that they were of "the race of the Khazars" (*ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Χαζάρων γενεᾶς*). They attempted to break away, fratricidal strife (*πολέμου ἐμφυλίου*) ensued, those in revolt against the "government" were defeated, some were slain, others fled to the Τοῦρκοι (here, as elsewhere in his tract, Constantine means the Hungarians) "in the land of the Pečenegs" (i.e., the land previously held by the Hungarians and now, in Constantine's day, in Pečeneg possession). They became allies and "some [or 'for some reason'] were called Kabars" (*καὶ ἀλλήλοις συνεφιλιώθησαν, καὶ Κάβαροί τινες ὠνομάσθησαν*). The phrase seems to imply that this name developed only *after* their revolt and flight to join the Hungarians. The account goes on to note that the Kabars taught the Τοῦρκοι "the language of the Khazars" (*τὴν τῶν Χαζάρων γλῶσσαν αὐτοῖς τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐδίδαξαν*) which, in Constantine's day, they still retained in addition to the language of the Hungarians. Pritsak's reconstruction may prove to be correct, but the fragmentary data at hand does not support a convincing demonstration.

Pritsak associates the name *Ḵiaḇar* (in a 1965 article in the *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* he deduced this form in Oğuric: *Qabar* > *Xiabar* > *Yowar*; the latter is found in the Volga Bulğar inscriptions) with the personal name in the Kievan letter: Reuben bar *Gosṭaṭa* bar *Ḵiaḇar* (MS *ḵyḇr*) Kôhên. Further, he hypothesizes that Reuben's father, *Gosṭaṭa*, was the son of one of the Kabars who revolted against the Beg. He fled to the Pečeneg territory of the Talmač/Tılmač, ruled by Κώστας and subsequently gave his son this name (*Ġosta* + suffix -*ta*(i) indicating "belonging to") in honor of his Pečeneg protector. The other Khazar names are explained as follows: *Simson Judah* called *Swrth* = *Säwärtä*: *Säwär* < *Sabir* (a Turkic tribal grouping in the North Caucasus and Middle Volga) + suffix -*tä*, i.e., "the Sabir"; *Ḥanukkâh b. Moses Qwfyn b. Joseph* = *Qofin* < Quban (Kuban River), cf. ὁ Κωφὴν ποταμὸς of Greek sources, the *Kup'i* Bulğars of the geography ascribed to Movsês Xorenaḍi; *Mnr b. Samuel Kôhên* and . . . *el b. Mns*: the names *Mns* and *Mnr* both contain the Oğuric element **mân* 'great'.

[10] The literature here is very extensive, see Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-turcica,* 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), 1:134–35, 2:321; Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* (Budapest, 1930), pp. 195ff.; C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 124ff.

Pritsak has boldly sketched a new reconstruction of the opening pages of Kievan Rus' history. He views the Poljane (< *pole* 'steppe'), who comprised Slavic- and non-Slavic-speaking elements, as the founders of the Kiev settlement. This urban embryo was fortified by the Khazars ca. 833 (in the aftermath of the Avar collapse). Kij and his kin were connected with the Khazar state. Pritsak associates the name Kij with that of the Khazar Muslim wazîr, Aḥmad b. Kûya (noted by al-Mas'ûdî as the wazîr in his day, i.e., the mid-tenth century), who was probably of Xwârizmian origin. He conjectures that it was Aḥmad's father, *Kûya* (= Iranian *Kaoya* > *Kûyâ*), who was responsible for bringing in "Khazarian" (actually Onogurian, according to Pritsak) troops to Kiev. The name *Kûya* lies at the root of Kij, Kiev: Kûyâ + East Iranian adjectival suffix -*ăwa* = *Kûyâwa*, cf. Arabic *Kûyâba*, Greek (Constantine) Κιοάβα,[11] Lat. *Cuiewa* and *qyywb̠*: Qiyåβ of the Kievan letter, an Eastern Iranian form in Turko-Hunno-Bolgarian garb. The *Kopyrev konec* section of Kiev (which contained an area called *Židove*) is to be derived from *Kabar/Kabyr* > *Kapyr* = Slav. *Kopyr*, thereby indicating that Kabars were in Kiev, a fact confirmed, in his view, by the *K̠iab̠ar* of the Kievan letter. Once again I am disturbed by the lack of any but the most skimpy data, but I am also impressed by Pritsak's new and original approaches. It is a hypothesis that has many appealing elements. There is, however, a chronological hurdle: Aḥmad b. Kûya was active in the 940s–950. According to this reconstruction, his "father," with whom "Khazarization" of the Kievan site is to be connected, was wazîr, or at least a high official, some 110 years earlier. This is not insurmountable, however, if one views *Kuya* as a clan name. Iranian and other non-Turkic ethnic groups with commercial and diplomatic skills often held high (and very likely hereditary) positions in the governments of the nomadic realms (e.g., the Soğdians in the Türk empire).

The appearance of the runiform inscription in the Kievan letter, regarded by Golb and Pritsak as an official stamp of approval by Khazar authorities, necessitates, in light of the dating of the document, a new chronology for Kievan Rus' history. Without going into the details of Pritsak's new interpretation (the full treatment of which will undoubtedly be appearing in his *Origins of Rus'*), we may summarize it as follows: Igor', the Rus' qağan (based in the Rostov-Jaroslav region of the Upper Volga basin), not Oleg (who died ca. 920–928 in a Rus' expedition on the Caspian), was the conqueror of Kiev. After Oleg's death, Igor' seized his territories and went on to take Kiev in the 930s. Thus, the Kievan letter was written ca. 930, at which time Khazar rule (as attested by the runiform notation) on the Dnieper was still a reality. This constitutes a very substantial revision of the chronology of the *Povest' vremennyx let* (whose

11 Cf. also the forms in the *DAI*, chap. 9, p. 58 τὸν Κίοβα, p. 62 τὸν Κίαβον.

dating for the early events of Rus' history is generally considered tendentious). Hence, if the dating of the Kievan letter is, indeed, ca. 930 (and Golb's palaeographic arguments are particularly cogent here), Pritsak is well within his rights to suggest a new chronological reconstruction. Moreover, the Oleg-Igor' relationship as sketched by Pritsak, although at variance with the "official" *PVL* account, is not implausible.

In the second half of the book, devoted to the Schechter letter, Golb takes up the question of its authenticity and after an exhaustive examination concludes (pp. 93–95) that it is genuine. He views it as a letter of a diplomatic nature, part of the correspondence of Ḥasdai b. Šaprûṭ with Khazarian personages. The Geniza fragment is a copy, possibly of Provençal origin, which was part of a codex of Ḥasdai's correspondence. These letters were preserved "both for their intrinsic interest as letters of an outstanding personality and for their value as examples of proper epistolatory style."

Pritsak deals with the very complex questions of the identification and historical context of the persons and places in the letter. He suggests that although the text was written in Hebrew, in Constantinople, by an "autochthonous Jewish subject of the Khazarian king Joseph," the foreign geographical names were "recorded by the author of the letter in Arabic script, but with Persian usage. Later on these names were rendered into Hebrew script by copyists and the errors were later compounded by successive scribes" (p. 129). The conceptual framework is not new, but Pritsak has added some important refinements and on the whole made it attractive.

The Schechter letter differs in a number of points (especially regarding the story of the Khazar conversion) from the testimony of the Joseph letter. Pritsak explains these discrepancies by suggesting that the "tract that has been preserved in the Schechter text is an unofficial version of indigenously Jewish circles." He divides the letter into three segments: (1) the "epic tale" of the conversion based on Jewish (non-Royal Khazar) tradition; (2) the main events of the reigns of the most recent Khazar rulers; (3) geographical information largely taken from the Islamic geographers.

According to the Schechter letter, Jewish or Judaized ancestors of the Khazar Jews fled from or through Armenia, which is described as pagan and unlettered (i.e., before Christianization in the early fourth century and the invention of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrop Maštoç ca. 406 A.D.) to Khazaria. The chronology implied here is certainly suspect, as there is little firm evidence for the presence of the Khazars in the region prior to the middle of the sixth century. A descendent of these Jews, became, by virtue of his military prowess, the "chief officer" of the Khazars who, prior to this, are depicted as having no hereditary ruler but rather as led by elected warlords. Under the influence of his pious wife and father-in-law, he is restored fully to his ancestral faith and the whole episode ends with a

rather lame reference to their possible origins from the tribe of Simeon, which even the author does not wish to press too far ("but we cannot insist on the truth of this matter"). I think that Pritsak's judgment that this is an "epic tale" of local Jewish provenance is undoubtedly correct. Indeed, it can be argued that the whole account is an attempt to establish the bona fides of the Khazar ruling house as Jews. This was certainly an important issue to both the anonymous author and his addressee, Ḥasdai, especially in light of the charge of bastardy directed against the Khazars by the Qaraites (an important group in Constantinople).[12] The origins of the qağanate as described in the Schechter letter almost certainly belong to this "epic" tradition as well. This in no way detracts from the authenticity of the letter as a whole. Rather, this is a mythic preamble to a realistic description of contemporary (to the author) events in the reigns of the last three Khazar "kings" (Pritsak does not view them as the qağanal line): Benjamin (ca. 880–900), Aaron (900–920), and Joseph (ca. 920–960; the dating is Pritsak's). In particular, the shifting relations between the Khazars, Byzantines, and Alans are charted along with the involvement in these relations of the Pečenegs, Oğuz (*Torqia*), Volga As (*Âsĩă*) and Kuban Bulğars (**Qubam*: *qbm* > *ġbm* > *'bm* of the letter). The details and cast of characters were established some time ago (cf. the Kokovcov edition), but Pritsak has made some interesting revisions. Of particular importance is his treatment of the activities of the Rus' king *hlgw*, whom he identifies with Oleg. The latter, lured by the Byzantines to attack *smkrṣ* (Tmutorokan'), provoked a Khazar retaliation. The Khazar general *bwlšṣy* Pesaḥ seized Byzantine cities in the Crimea and subsequently subjugated *hlgw*. Forced to turn against Byzantium, *hlgw*, defeated and humiliated, fled to *frs* (which Pritsak identifies as the Persian Caspian coast) where he perished. The latter event Pritsak identifies with the Rus' Caspian raid, recorded in al-Mas'ûdî, which took place after 300/912 but before 315/928. Indeed, it is on this evidence that part of his revision of the dating of early Rus' history hinges.

Pritsak's concluding section deals with the question of the names of the Khazar capital(s?) as reported in the Islamic geographical literature. He contends that *'rqnws* of the Schechter letter, a variant of the *'lyqnws* of the *Sêfer Yôsippôn*, does not derive from *Hyrcania* (the Classical Greek and Byzantine term for the Caspian, used also by Bar Hebraeus for Khazaria), but rather renders *Uluġ (Al)an-Âs* = *Velikaja Skuf'* of the Rus' sources. I think he is stretching the evidence dangerously thin here. Given the presence of other ethnogeographical names of Greek provenance in the

[12] D. M. Dunlop, *History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), p. 221 attributes the reference to the Khazars as *mamzerim* to Japhet b. 'Alî (fl. 950–980). Z. Ankori, *Karaites*, p. 73, fn. 41, is less definite about the attribution. In all likelihood, given the rabbinical nature of Khazar Judaism and the sharp Rabbanite-Qaraite polemics, this issue was a lively and ongoing one in the tenth century.

Schechter text (cf. *zykws* = Ζιχός = Georgian *J̌ik'i*, a people of the North Caucasus–Black Sea coast) and the clear statement of the author of the Schechter letter that *'rqnws* is the "name of our land as we have found (it) in (the?) books" (p. 119), it most probably represents *Hyrcanus* (a not unexpected form for a Jew writing in Constantinople). As for the native term for the Khazar capital in the Volga estuary, Pritsak suggests that the *'ṭyl* of the Schechter letter is the Hunno-Bolgaric *Atil*, in contrast to the Türk form used by the ruling dynasty, rendered in the Arabic texts as اتل *'tl*: *Itil* (in the Topkapı, III Ahmet 3346 MS of Ibn Ḥawqal, fol. 106v, line 31, and fol. 107v, line 25, there is *'t^Wl*: *Atul/ Itül*, etc.). Basing himself on the one reading of one manuscript of al-Mas'ûdî's *Murûj aḏ-Ḏahab* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 1476, fol. 80r, line 1)[13] in which the form امل *Amol* appears (elsewhere the MS has *Itil* or *Iil*; the Berlin MS of al-Iṣṭaxrî, Staatsbibliothek, 6032, fol. 92v, line 5 also has *Amol*, but elsewhere has variants on *Itil*),[14] he concludes that Itil was founded by the Iranian (A)mardoi (> Amol) recorded in Strabo and Pliny. These (A)mardoi were "notorious brigands" who gave their name to the city of Amol on the southern Caspian and an Amol on the Amu Darya. "It is therefore clear that the Khazars did not found a city at the mouth of the Volga. They simply took over a center which at one time had been a main city of the (A)mardoi of that area" (p. 146). In connection with this, Pritsak suggests that the Khazar twin-city pattern derived from an Iranian prototype. In fact, he posits Jurjân as the Iranian model for the Khazar Itil, with its trade center in the eastern part of the city and its religious and political center in the western part.

In the "Classical School of Arabic Geography" (al-Iṣṭaxrî, Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Muqaddasî), the eastern part of Atil/Itil is called *Xazarân* (= *Xazar* + the Altaic collective suffix *-an*, p. 151, although on p. 143 Pritsak notes the *-an* in Xazarân as a Persian plural suffix *-ân*). The western part of the city, unnamed in the al-Iṣṭaxrî-Ibn Ḥawqal tradition, also contains the *Xâliṣ Xazar* (= *Xvalisy* of the Rus' sources, Χαλίσιοι of the Byzantine authors, and *Káliz* of medieval Hungary).

The nomads, of course, were not known for founding cities. They either took over existing urban sites or slowly transformed the khan's winter quarters into an urban settlement. Thus, the close association of Iranian elements (especially as the bulk of the Muslim merchants and craftsmen in Itil appear to have been Xwârizmians and other Eastern Iranians) with Khazar urban development seems well grounded. Less appealing, however, is the conjectural association of the ancient (A)mardoi with the founding of Atil/Itil, resting as it does on a very slim textual base. The

[13] See P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies* (Budapest, 1980), 1:228, 2:221.
[14] Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 1:227, 2:82.

confusion of *Amol* and *Itil* is understandable not only on graphic grounds, but also because of the close geographic proximity of the two cities.

In the "Descriptive School of Arabic Geography" (Ibn Rusta, the *Hudûd al-'Âlam*, Gardîzî, al-Bakrî), the Khazar capital dual-city, according to Pritsak, is called *Šâriğčin* (= Hunno-Bolgaric *šâriğ* 'white' + Altaic suffix for color *-ğčin*, cf. Mong. *-ğčin*, *Šâriğ- iğčin* > *Šâr- iğčin* (just as *Šâriğkil* became *Šârkil*,[15] > *Sajsin*), containing within it the island seat of government **Hap Baliğ*/ *Qut Balıǧ*. In some Arab authors (Ibn A'tham al-Kûfî), this toponym was simply translated: *al-Bayḍa* 'the White (city)'. Although one may argue whether it is Common Turkic *Sarıǧčin* or Oğuric *Šâriğčin*, the construction is essentially sound. It is not clear in our sources, however, whether *Šâriğčin-*Hap Baliğ*/ *Qut Balıǧ* is indeed to be identified with Atil/Itil-Xazarân (*Qazar* in the Schechter letter). Atil/Itil was in the Volga estuary. Šâriğčin, however, is described in an anonymous twelfth-century geographical treatise, the *Risâla fî'l-Aqâlîm* (Istanbul, Köprülü MS 1632; see pertinent excerpts in R. Şeşen, *Hilâfet ordusunun menkıbeleri ve Türkler'in fazîletleri* [Ankara, 1967], pp. 33–35), as a large Khazar city located "in the steppe" *fî sahl al-arḍ*, lit. "in the plain[s] [flatlands] of the earth."

Following Marquart, Lewicki, and Zajączkowski, Pritsak associates *Xamlîx* (= Hunno-Bolgaric *Xam* < *Xalin* < *Xali* (*X*^{w}*âlis*, *Xvalisy*, *Káliz*, etc.) + *-an* + *-lîx*) with the eastern part of Atil/Itil. Again, owing to the vagueness of our sources, we are not absolutely obliged to connect *Xamlîx* with any of the other cities.

* * *

As noted in the beginning of this review, the authors have entered an area in which controversy is a constant companion. Given the fragmentary nature and often ambiguous language of our sources, the frequent garblings of crucial names, etc., conflicting interpretations of this or that form are bound to arise. The critical remarks put forward here, themselves advanced in a tentative fashion, in no way detract from the scholarship that underlies this important work. Golb and Pritsak have rendered an invaluable service to Khazar and Rus' studies in not only preparing excellent editions and translations of two important sources, but also in

[15] This is the Σάρκελ of the *DAI*, Theophanes Continuatus and Scylitzes (see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*², 2:268–69), noted in the Joseph letter as *š*(*ś*)*rkyl*, and in two epigraphs of the (Leningrad, Firkovič Collection) Biblical Codex 51: *š*(*ś*)*rql*, *srql* (see Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 1:239–40. The construction of Sarkel is now placed in 838, not 833, as Pritsak has it; see I. Sorlin, "Le problème des Khazares et les historiens soviétiques dans les vingt dernières années," *Travaux et Mémoires* (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines), 3 (1968):436, fn. 51.

providing commentaries to the texts that are both richly informative and thought-provoking. Even when disagreeing, one is compelled to rethink many problems and this is all to the good. My only regret is that the authors did not include the Ḥasdai b. Šaprûṭ-Joseph correspondence as well. In any event, the work stands as a landmark in Khazar, early Rus', and East European Jewish studies.

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REVIEWS

THE BEGINNING OF CYRILLIC PRINTING. CRACOW, 1491. FROM THE ORTHODOX PAST IN POLAND. By *Szczepan K. Zimmer.* Edited by *Ludwik Krzyżanowski* and *Irene Nagurski* with the assistance of *Krystyna M. Olszer.* Brooklyn College Program on Society in Change, 29. Editor-in-chief Béla K. Király. Distributed by Columbia University Press. Social Science Monographs, Boulder, Colorado. New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, 1983. 292 pp. $26.00. [Index, illus., annotated bibliography, appendices.]

Szczepan Zimmer intends this volume to serve as "a history of the development of the first Cyrillic printing press" (p. 1); he later restates that purpose as the presentation of "the facts and information regarding this field" (p. 252). On this descriptive level the author has fulfilled his goal: this is an exhaustive study of Szwajpolt Fiol (Schweipold Veyl), of his Cyrillic printing establishment in Cracow, and of the four books he published in the late 1480s to 1491. Unfortunately, however, the book does not move beyond the compiling and collating of information to advance new interpretations of East Slavic incunabula.

Eight of the monograph's ten chapters concentrate on the printer Fiol. Topics include his autobiography; his trial for "heresy"; the dissemination of his imprints and their present-day locations; and the manuscript prototypes, language, paper, typeface and ornament of his books. The monograph concludes with discussion of "Fiol's heirs" (the printers Makarios in Montenegro and Makarios in Wallachia, Skaryna, and Fedorov) and of the reasons that led Fiol, a German Catholic, to print Orthodox texts in Cyrillic around 1491 in Cracow. Numerous asides are provided on such topics as Jan Haller's Latin- and Polish-language printing activities and the Orthodox and Slavic-language presses in Bohemia, Silesia, Croatia, Venice, and elsewhere that preceded Fiol. Appendix 1 details the physical characteristics of the four Fiol imprints and painstakingly describes certain of the surviving copies; appendix 2 tabulates the locations of Fiol imprints in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. The numerous helpful illustrations are well reproduced; the book is based on a nearly comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography.

Zimmer, a Polish émigré with American training and professional experience in library science, displays broad knowledge of his subject. He offers no new argument, but strives to create an account untainted by the nationalistic biases that plague the field. Zimmer effectively rejects the excesses of the Soviet scholar E. L. Nemirovskii, who Russianizes early

Cyrillic printing (pp. 35–37, 51–64, 67–69, 79–82, and elsewhere). Zimmer similarly refutes excessively Polonophile or Ukrainophile views (p. 31) and exposes a past tendency to romanticize Fiol's life. Given this sensitivity to nationalistic bias, Zimmer might be expected to make a real contribution by accurately depicting the interconnectedness of Orthodox East Slavic culture in the fifteenth century. But he fails to maintain the neutrality he demands from others.

Zimmer's own bias is not consistently stated. He acknowledges some of the Ukrainian contribution to Orthodox culture in the Grand Duchy, but also unexpectedly calls Fiol's printing "the product of Polish culture" (p. 170). A Belorussian sympathy, however, is most apparent: Zimmer asserts with little evidence that Fiol's typesetters were Belorussians, and he exaggerates the Belorussian elements in the language of Fiol's imprints (pp. 65–76). Zimmer also speculates that Fiol's patrons were the Jagiellonian monarchs at their Cracow court and declares that the Grand Duchy was "under the spell of Belorussian culture" (p. 168). But, as Zimmer himself must admit, Fiol's books were written in an Old Church Slavonic equally influenced by Ukrainian and Belorussian elements (p. 75). The same symbiosis can be seen in the cultural sphere at large in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Orthodox ecclesiastical, urban, and noble centers in both the Ukraine and Belorussia provided the personnel, texts, and patrons of Fiol's imprints and later Cyrillic books. The printed language of the Grand Duchy and its Orthodox communities at that time was either a Ruthenian chancery language or a locally influenced version of Old Church Slavonic. In thus stressing the Belorussian contribution to early Orthodox printing, Zimmer excessively divides the cultural world of early modern Ruthenian Orthodoxy and slights the importance of Ukrainian-area cultural centers in it.

Other flaws weaken Zimmer's book. He makes many strained suppositions; e.g., that Fiol's typographer Rudolf Borsdorff and the printer Jan Haller directly influenced Skaryna and other Cyrillic printers (pp. 41–48). His text is poorly organized: the narrative is frequently interrupted by lengthy refutations of other authors' views or by lengthy vignettes on related topics. Furthermore, it is too detailed: minute description of the physical characteristics of Fiol's books (chaps. 5–8 and appendix 1) is redundant for the specialist and irrelevant for the outsider. Finally, appendix 1 (pp. 171–252) is curiously incomplete: it describes only imprints in the West or in Poland, often reprinting material published elsewhere by others (pp. 178–80). Otherwise the reader is directed to Nemirovskii's descriptions of the Fiol imprints that reside in the USSR (totaling 68 of 78 surviving copies). What audience this appendix is intended to serve is unclear.

Zimmer's monograph is laudable as a compendium of facts and information on Fiol and his books. It offers little new to the specialist, and its meandering style, polemical tone, and minute detail require patience. Yet

the very wealth of material presented here does bring to life for the lay reader the culturally rich world in which Cyrillic printing came into being.

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ISTORIIA UKRAINS'KOHO DRUKARSTVA. ISTORYCHNO-BIBLIOHRAFICHNYI OHLIAD UKRAINS'KOHO DRUKARSTVA XV–XVIII V.V. By *Ivan Ohienko.* 2nd ed. Winnipeg: Instytut doslidiv Volyni, 1983. 418 pp.

The historian of Ukrainian bookprinting must greet the appearance of this book with mixed emotions. When Ohienko's manuscript appeared in 1925, it was the first study to treat the history of the Ukrainian book from a Ukrainian viewpoint (see, e.g., pp. 2–3, 155, 265), and in this respect, it was a useful corrective to the earlier histories by Polish and Russian scholars. Ohienko brought to his history an enviable erudition in the field of Ukrainian philology and archaeography and, of course, in archivistics and descriptive bibliography. During the early part of our century he traveled extensively, and had direct access to library and archival collections in Eastern (Russian) Ukraine and, during the early 1920s, in Galicia. Among the important collections he used were those of the Pochaiv Monastery and the Ossolineum, as well as typescripts prepared by private scholars (p. 190, fn. 1; p. 204).

This book was to be the first in a projected seven-volume history of Ukrainian bookprinting, and was intended to serve as a bibliographical and archaeographical introduction to all those volumes. It is best described, in fact, as a handbook, or vade mecum, organized according to the location in the Ukraine of a particular typography. The work is not without some interesting insights and ideas (p. 76, 84), but it is primarily a work of reference bibliography.

Even in 1925, the volume was not without its faults. It is poorly edited, inconsistent, and repetitious, with a share of typographical errors (e.g., pp. 63, 215, 279) and views that were not supportable in their day. Today its publication is primarily of historiographical interest. To take one case as an example: in his discussion of the relationship of the manuscript to the printed book in the Ukraine, Ohienko makes the following statement:

> Book printing was supported by individual donors and was in large part their plaything; at that time it did not bring good material rewards, and therefore could not exist on its own; in fact, later on the poorer churches more often made use of [hand]written texts, because for a long period of time, until the end of the eighteenth century, the [hand]written book was less expensive than the printed, and the credibility of the good written book was greater. (p. 33)

It is probably true that the manuscript book was less expensive than the printed, but the statement about the greater popular credibility of the manuscript book is open to question, since Ohienko gives no evidence to support the statement. In the course of the last fifty years scholarship in book studies has advanced in all of the Eastern bloc of nations as well as in the West. In the last generation Soviet scholars such as Isaievych and Zapasko in Lviv, Nemirovskii in Moscow, Apanovych in Kiev, and Lukianenko in Leningrad have all contributed important studies on the history of the Ukrainian book. In the West, Nadson, Mathiesen, and most recently the late Szczepan Zimmer have all dealt with the East Slavic Cyrillic book. The prefatory note to this edition does not mention these contributions.

More serious an omission is that the editors do not mention the existence of the Ohienko archives in the Library of St. Andrew's College (Winnipeg), which contain the unpublished manuscripts of additional volumes of Ohienko's history of the Ukrainian book, let alone his correspondence with scholars and writers in interwar Galicia.

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RUSSKIE BIBLIOTEKI I IKH CHITATEL': IZ ISTORII RUSSKOI KUL'TURY EPOKHI FEODALIZMA. Edited by *B. B. Piotrovskii* and *S. P. Luppov.* Leningrad: "Nauka," Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1983. 248 pp.

The volume under review contains twenty-six of the thirty-nine papers presented at the Second All-Union Scholarly Conference on Book Studies held 23–25 April 1981. Nearly 250 scholars took part, representing forty-one scholarly institutions. This collection represents some of the best work of the "Leningrad school" on the history of the "Russian book of the Feudal period," which in the Soviet Union is defined as the period before 1861. All the essays bear the stamp of that school's broad cultural approach to the history of the book and its emphasis on the use of new archival material for the study of the book in all its aspects. The essays are organized into three broad categories: the first deals with broad questions of book studies and the historiography of Soviet book studies; the second, with libraries and readers in general; the third and largest part, with private collections of the eighteenth century. The volume concludes with a description of an exhibit held in conjunction with the conference.

In his essay, B. A. Filov, the director of the Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN), reviews the library's work in the field of book studies and notes work in progress (p. 16). S. P. Luppov, the dean of Leningrad scholars on the history of the book, attempts to use archival material on the

history of the bookplate to characterize reader interests and the Russian population's level of culture and education in the eighteenth century. He looks at two types of sources: book trade lists which indicate the number of books bought, and lists which give additional information about the individuals who purchased them. He has contributed a useful essay, but his arguments about the importance of private libraries as historical sources would be far stronger if he had cited specific examples of reader notations or marginalia. The essay by A. A. Zaitseva, Luppov's successor as director of the Institute on the Study of the Book and Bookprinting, is somewhat disappointing. In her narrative survey she mentions important new studies dealing with the history of the book (e.g., Ishkhanian's) which were not included in the exhibit mentioned at the end of the volume under review; there are some spelling discrepancies between her essay and the exhibit catalogue (e.g., "Kaznev" on p. 34, "Kaziev" on p. 236). On page 39 she mentions that BAN has established a new direction in book studies by emphasizing the role of the foreign-language book in Russia; she evidently does not know of this reviewer's catalogue dealing with precisely this subject, published more than a decade ago in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library.* While much of the literature she cites is well known to Western specialists, certain items arouse our interest (for example, mention of the *Smirdinskie chteniia* which took place in Leningrad; p. 42). In his essay I. Barenbaum of the Leningrad Institute of Culture (i.e., Library School), contends that readership studies have not yet developed into a separate discipline, nor has their relationship to book studies been clarified. The most important figure of the Moscow center for book studies, E. L. Nemirovskii, discusses different views on the function of readership studies and its relationship to book studies as a whole, and agrees with Barenbaum on the current status of readership studies.

In his contribution opening the second group of essays, N. N. Rozov, formerly of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library, gives an overly positive view of the attainments of Russian book culture of the fifteenth century and, especially, of the holdings of three major monastic libraries (the Solovetskii, the Kirillo-Belozerskii, and the Troitse-Sergievskii). In his provocative essay, the senior Leningrad medievalist and bibliographer A. N. Kopanev attempts to demonstrate the important curatorial role of the northern *volost'* church collections of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. He bases his findings on a close reading of the *pistsovye knigi.* B. V. Sapunov, a curator of the Hermitage, continues his previous investigation of private monastic and church library *opisi* of the seventeenth century. In the essay published in this collection he surveys ninety-three such descriptions, representing 11,259 books; he warns, however, that it would be incorrect to see them as a microcosm of the entire Russian book repertory of the seventeenth century. The Ukrainian cultural historian V. Nichyk took for her subject 183 manuscript courses of rhetoric housed in the Manuscript Department of the Library of the Ukrainian Academy of

Sciences. Of these, 127 were read in the academy, whereas fifty-six were brought by students from other locations. The existence of these manuscript courses testifies to the important role of rhetoric in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century educational curriculum. Nichyk informs us that Ukrainian scholars have also found 178 courses of philosophy, 85 of which were read in Kiev and 93 of which were brought by students from other centers of learning.

The next group of essays deals with the libraries resulting from the "collection development" activities of several major political and cultural figures of the early eighteenth century: A. D. Menshikov, Robert Areskin (russianized form of the Scottish Arescine), and Vasilii Tatishchev. In her essay on Menshikov, S. R. Dolgova, librarian of the Central State Archives of Old Acts, discusses the library of the statesman, based on a partial eighteenth-century *opis'*; she also appends a 1737 (?) description of Menshikov's manuscript material. The Latinist I. N. Lebedeva turns her attention to Areskin's collection, donated to the Library of the Academy of Sciences in 1719. The young Soviet bibliographer Guzer devotes his study to archival documents of Tatishchev's work in developing a library network in the Urals during the 1730s. Other essays in this portion of the miscellany deal with the library collections of Peter I's counselor General Yakov Bruce, Emperor Peter III, Diderot, the scholar Krashennikov, and lesser known figures of the eighteenth century. Two other essays round out the collection—one dealing with the readership of Algarotti's works in Russian in the eighteenth century, and the other with nineteenth-century Russian popular song-books.

All the articles in this third group of essays attempt to base their conclusions on newly found archival documents, especially hitherto unknown *opisi* of personal libraries. An especially interesting contribution is that by the head of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department of the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, M. V. Kukushkina: she reports on her work in exploring the historical Russian collections of the Helsinki University Library. Such work is laudable, and should be encouraged for other collections outside the Soviet Union.

Like the previous volumes sponsored by the Library of the Academy of Sciences, this collection contains much new and fresh data on the history of the Russian and the Ukrainian book. Again, like the other dozen miscellanies in the series, this collection perhaps makes too much of the importance of individual library catalogues as sources for the intellectual history of an age. The methodological problems entailed by personal library catalogues are far greater than their matter-of-fact use by Soviet scholars indicates. Other essays in the collection, like that by Kopanev, leave the reader wanting to know more about the roles of church and parish collections in spreading literacy in the Russian north in the Muscovite

period. I look forward to future works by scholars associated with the academy's library.

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SLOVNYK SYNONIMIV UKRAJINS'KOJI MOVY. Vol. 1: *A–P.* By *Andrij Bahmet.* New York, Paris, Sidney, and Toronto: 1982. 465 pp.

This is the Shevchenko Scientific Society's photoreprint in book form of the author's *Materialy do synonimičnoho slovnyka ukrajins'koji movy.* The text was originally published in installments in the Soviet Ukrainian journals *Vitčyzna* (1959–1962) and *Ukrajina* (1969–1971). In *Vitčyzna* publication was stopped without explanation at the entry *neščadno* 'mercilessly'. After the death of Bahmet his *Materialy* were reportedly "thrown out as rubbish" (p. xiii of the reprint), but the writer Dmytro Hryn'ko found part of the manuscript and arranged for its further publication in *Ukrajina.* Its publication there ceased (in no. 41, for 1971) with the words "To be continued."

The present publication has been prepared by Gregory Luznycky and Leonid Rudnytzky, who have introduced some changes: some propaganda phraseology has been removed, and orthography has been adjusted to conform to the Kharkiv rules of 1928, which are observed in the Ukrainian diaspora.

The wealth of material in this dictionary, compiled by the non-linguist Bahmet, compared with the *Korotkyj slovnyk synonimiv ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1960) compiled by the linguist P. M. Derkač, follows from Bahmet's offering more than a dictionary of synonyms in the strict sense of the term: his work is a dictionary of words with only very approximately similar meaning (e.g., whereas Derkač gives only three basic entries for "to go by foot"—imperfective-determinate *itý,* imperfective-indeterminate-iterative *xodýty,* and perfective *pitý*—with few synonyms and references to other entries, Bahmet gives all words of the broad semantic "to go by foot" category, which together fill more than 17 printed pages). Bahmet was probably motivated by a patriotic desire to prove the richness of his native language and forgot that strict distinctions between meanings are more valuable than synonyms for the intellectual and linguistic development of a nation. Yet his somewhat naive approach in no way justifies the cruelty and disdain with which he was treated in his own country.

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GRAMMARS AND DICTIONARIES OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES FROM THE MIDDLE AGES UP TO 1850: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *Edward Stankiewicz.* Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984. 190 pp. $59.10.

This bibliography complements the Yale University series of studies in the history of the Slavic language question (which includes *The Slavic Literary Languages*, reviewed in this journal's December 1982 issue [vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 529–31], and *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, 2 vols.). It contains materials on all Slavic languages except those now extinct and those whose modern standard developed very late. For at least one language excluded—White Ruthenian—a case could be made for inclusion, because studies published before 1850 did discuss it, e.g.: S. B. Linde's *O Statucie Litewskim ruskim językiem i drukiem wydanym wiadomość* (Warsaw, 1816), especially the chapter "O piśmie i języku tegoż statutu," in which the old Muscovite term *belorusskij jazyk* was first introduced into scholarly circulation in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and lexical characteristics of that language in the sixteenth century were briefly presented (Professor Stankiewicz does include this type of work, which is neither grammar nor dictionary); and J. Czeczot's *Piosnki wieśniacze znad Niemna i Dźwiny, niektóre przysłowia i idiotyzmy w mowie słowiańskokrewickiej z postrzeżeniami nad nią uczynionymi* (Vilnius, 1846), with comments on White Ruthenian phonetics, morphology, and Latin spelling and glossaries of words and expressions (proverbs included), totaling ca. 650 entries.

Some works for the languages represented have been omitted: among Ukrainian works, the sixteenth-century Ukrainian–Church Slavonic phrase book prepared somewhere in Western Europe, perhaps in France (some other phrase books are included); Arsenij Kocak's *Hrammatyka russkaja* (i.e., Slavonic-Rhossic grammar of Ukrainian recension, 1768–1788); Ivan Lavrivs'kyj's *Bukvár národnohō roúskohō jazýka v" krülévstvax" Halýcïy y Lodomérïy oužyvánohō óraz nīméckohō y pól'skohō dlja škól" parafiál'nyx" roúskyx"* (Peremyšl', 1838). Primers are generally omitted, but not for some languages with hampered development (e.g., Bulgarian). Ukrainian should certainly also be considered such a language. In the entry for M. Smotryc'kyj's Slavonic grammar (in the Ukrainian section), its Serbian-Rumanian edition of 1755 is not mentioned (although both its Muscovite editions are).

The compiler has organized his material by linguistic divisions into West, South, and East Slavic, whereas in this case cultural divisions would have been more revealing. Surely the confessional and cultural division of Slavs between Western and Eastern Christianity, using the Latin and Cyrillic script, respectively—in short, the Latin and the Cyrillic group—is most characteristic.

The Cyrillic group is distinguished by an initial period of Slavonic grammars of local recension or mixed Slavonic-vernacular grammars preceding the first grammars of the vernacular. Only for Bulgarian, whose cultivation was neglected for a particularly long period, was the first vernacular grammar published, at a very late time, without that preparatory stage:

	Date of first published grammar of Slavonic of local recension	*Date of first published grammar of the vernacular*	*Number of years intervening*
Ukrainian	1586	1818	232
Russian	1648	1696	48
Serbian	1755	1814	59
Bulgarian	—	1824	0

In the Latin group the first published grammars were authentic grammars of the respective vernaculars, and most appeared earlier than the vernacular grammars of the Cyrillic group:

Czech	1533
Polish	1568
Slovene	1584
Croatian	1604
Upper Lusatian	1679
Lower Lusatian	1761
Slovak	1793

Only the last two languages in this group received their first published grammar later than did Muscovite-Russian in the Cyrillic group. Lower Lusatian is numerically the weakest Slavic language in this list, and thus ranked low in public interest. Slovak, on the other hand, is the only language in the Latin group which had its own "Slavonic"—namely, Czech or its local recension—which substituted for the Slovak vernacular for many centuries. It contributed to the late development of Slovak grammars in much the same way as Slavonic did in the Cyrillic group.

Comparison of the first published dictionaries with entries in Slavic languages (excluding Slavonic) shows a similar difference between the Latin and the Cyrillic group:

Date of the first printed dictionary with Slavic vernacular entries

Latin group		Cyrillic group	
Croatian	1544	Russian	1717
Czech	1562	Ukrainian	1787
Slovene	1578	Serbian	1787
Polish	1594	Bulgarian	1852
Upper Lusatian	1780		
Slovak	1791		
Lower Lusatian	1847		

Only the weakest languages of the Latin group compare with Ukrainian, Serbian, and Bulgarian, and are outpaced by Russian in lexicographical development.

If one looks at places where the first grammar of an individual Slavic language was published, a somewhat different division, not entirely dependent on the Latin-Cyrillic divide, emerges.

First grammars published

at home (then abroad)		*abroad (then at home)*	
Czech	Náměšť' 1533 (Nuremberg 1543)	*Slovene*	Wittemberg 1584 (Ljubljana 1715)
Polish	Cracow 1568 (Vienna 1660)	*Croatian*	Rome 1604 (Dubrovnik 1785)
Lower Lusatian	Lubin 1761 (after 1850)	*Upper Lusatian*	Prague 1679 (Budyšin 1721)
Slovak	Bratislava 1790 (Vienna 1850)	*Russian*	Oxford 1696 (St. Petersburg 1730)
		Serbian	Vienna 1814 (Cetinje 1838)
		Ukrainian	St. Petersburg 1818 (Peremyšl' 1834)
		Bulgarian	Braşov 1824 (after 1850)

The Slavic languages for which there first existed grammatical cultivation in the home linguistic territory are all languages of the Latin group. But both South Slavic languages and one small West Slavic language of this group stand together with languages of the Cyrillic group, in that initially their grammatical development did not thrive in the home linguistic territory.

A survey of the first published dictionaries with Slavic vernaculars as entries yields a similar picture:

First Slavic-entry dictionaries published

	at home (then abroad)		*abroad (then at home)*
Czech	Olomouc 1562 (Vienna 1845)	*Croatian*	Antwerp 1544 (Zagreb 1740)
Slovene	Ljubljana 1578 (Vienna 1792)	*Ukrainian*	St. Petersburg 1787 (Lviv 1840)
Polish	Gdańsk 1594 (Leipzig 1764)	*Serbian*	St. Petersburg 1787 (Belgrade 1849)
Russian	St. Petersburg 1717 (Naples 1778)	*Bulgarian*	Vienna 1852 (after 1870)
Upper Lusatian	Wojerecy 1780 (Leipzig 1844)		
Slovak	Trnava 1791 (Buda 1825)		
Lower Lusatian	Grodk 1847 (Budyšin 1851)		

As in the case of the first grammars, initiative at home was taken primarily within the Latin group (except for Russian). The group of languages with less favorable conditions for development at home includes

most of the South Slavic languages (Latin and Cyrillic) and Ukrainian.

One could argue that work on a language first begun abroad is a positive, rather than negative, sign because it shows the importance of the language on an international plane. But the case of the strongest two languages of the Latin group, for which pioneering work was done at home before such work started abroad, suggests the opposite: the importance of a language is correlated with its cultivation at home first.

The possibility of such comparisons—including value judgments, an inalienable privilege of the humanities—shows that bibliographies are more than mere lists of books and manuscripts: they are records of vital developments in real life.

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SHEVCHENKO AND THE CRITICS, 1861–1980. Edited by *George S. N. Luckyj.* Translated by *Dolly Ferguson* and *Sophia Yurkevich.* Introduction by *Bohdan Rubchak.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980. xi, 522 pp. $8.50 Can., paper; $30.00 Can., cloth.

The teaching of Ukrainian literature on this continent is a young enterprise. University students enrolled in Ukrainian programs have at their disposal relatively few materials in English that can aid them in the study of Ukrainian literature. To be sure, the situation has been gradually improving. Professor George S. N. Luckyj of the University of Toronto in particular has done much to make the discipline more accessible to the beginning student. To him we owe, among other things, the appearance in English of Dmytro Čyževs'kyj's *History of Ukrainian Literature.* Since, according to Luckyj, "the main purpose of the present volume [*Shevchenko and the Critics*] is to provide a textbook primarily for university students," the work under review should be considered another addition to that growing number of publications.

The volume's twenty-seven articles were written over a time span beginning in the year of Taras Shevchenko's death, 1861, up to the year of the collection's publication, 1980; twenty articles were translated especially for this edition. Although they are arranged in chronological order, without regard to subject matter, the articles fall into four broad categories. The first and largest seeks to define Shevchenko's world view and to elucidate the intellectual and historical environment that shaped it. Most of the articles in this category attempt, directly or indirectly, to rectify various interpretations of Shevchenko. They are: Drahomanov's discussion of Shevchenko's sociopolitical thought (1879); Hrinchenko's essay on the

poet's national ideals (1892); Richyts'kyi's effort to define Shevchenko's *muzhyk* philosophy; Mohylians'kyi's study of the relationship between Kulish and Shevchenko (vindicating the former; 1927); Čyževs'kyj's inquiry into Shevchenko's religious attitudes (1936); Antonovych's discussion of Shevchenko's use of history (1888); Hudzii's investigation of Shevchenko's ideas on Russian revolutionary-democratic ideology (1951); Swoboda's inquiry into the relationship between Belinskii and Shevchenko (1961); and, related but standing somewhat apart, Miiakovs'kyi's study of the ideology and activities of the SS. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood (1962).

Forming a second category are more narrowly focused articles that examine individual poems or sets of poems, with emphasis on themes, poetic images, semantic fields, and stylistic elements. These include Franko's study of "Perebendia" (1892); Chukovskii's discussion of the theme of abandonment (1914); Drai-Khmara's investigation of folk sources in "U tiiei Kateryny. . ." (1930); Smal'-Stots'kyi's interpretation of "Oi choho ty pochornilo" (1934); Ryl's'kyi's comparison of the economy of means in "U tiiei Kateryny . . ." with the devices of folk songs (1958); and, related to the others, Čyževs'kyj's article on Shevchenko's metrical devices and their place in the history of Ukrainian verse (1946).

A third group of articles, dealing with broad symbolical meanings in Shevchenko's *oeuvre*, tend toward greater synthesis and encompass larger segments of his work. For example, Shevelov's article (1962) focuses on the year 1860 in Shevchenko's work and gives a close stylistic analysis of a large number of poems. Luckyj's article (1970) treats the archetype of the bastard. Rubchak studies Shevchenko's "masks," i.e., the various projections of the self in his works (1974, 1979); Pliushch, focusing on one ballad, discusses Shevchenko's philosophical quest (1978). Grabowicz, viewing Shevchenko's entire *oeuvre* as a single whole, investigates the way the poet organizes thought and experience (1980).

Two articles that place Shevchenko within Romantic literary convention can be considered to comprise a fourth category: these are by Fylypovych (1924) and by Efimov Schneider (1978).

Standing apart from these broad categories are Iefremov's article on Shevchenko's correspondence (1929), Ievshan's on Shevchenko's creative process (1911), and Kulish's famous "Why Shevchenko is a Poet of Our People" (1861), the only article in the volume that deals with Shevchenko's significance in the Ukrainian literary process and his role in fusing the Ukrainian people into a nation.

Although the volume covers a great many areas of Shevchenko studies, there are some important ones that it overlooks. Among them are textual criticism and the issues involved in establishing Shevchenko's canon. Absent from the collection, too, are treatments of Shevchenko's prosody, narrative technique, and poetic language. Such omissions are unfortunate, particularly because much interesting work has recently been done in these

areas. Finally, there are no articles on Shevchenko's prose, nor on his legacy as a painter and graphic artist.

The aim of the fifty-two page introduction by Professor Bohdan Rubchak is to show "how much has been done in Shevchenko studies in the past hundred and thirty years"; he deals with scholarship in Eastern and Western Ukraine as well as in the emigration. The essay goes far beyond the scope of the articles in the volume, although these are given priority and emphasis. In some instances, Rubchak provides short vignettes of the authors and describes fleetingly the political background of their scholarship. Interwoven through his survey is the motif of a Shevchenko "cult" among Ukrainians. Rubchak recounts the various roles and the political uses to which Shevchenko and his work have been put.

Rubchak's essay is, unquestionably, useful and informative. It is unfortunate, however, that he provides so little documentation. The authors and works that he enumerates and praises remain, for the most part, simply names and titles without any specific bibliographical references. While one does not expect an introduction to serve as a bibliography, it seems that in view of its length a few extra footnotes could have been provided; this would have increased its value to the student tremendously, especially since the volume contains no select bibliography. At times the essay takes on a strident tone. While Rubchak has good reason to criticize Soviet distortions and Russian repression of Ukrainian culture and scholarship, he belabors the obvious and thus detracts from his primary goal. Although he admits that Soviet scholarship has its achievements, this point is far less thoroughly developed. Also underdeveloped is his treatment of nineteenth-century Ukrainian national consciousness, the role Shevchenko played in it, and the differences between him and his contemporaries. Here Rubchak's narrative tends toward the ahistorical and one-dimensional. Nor is Rubchak very convincing in his summary of Shapoval's (Sriblians'kyi's) views on Shevchenko. Considering that writer's passionate defense of Shevchenko from attacks by the Futurist Semenko, it is rather unlikely that he would have "negated any influence by Shevchenko . . . on modern times." Finally, the introduction suffers from a small but unfortunate mistranslation: Evhen Malaniuk's line about Shevchenko (*Vin, kym zainialos' i zapalalo*) is translated as "He, who became the spark and *conflagration* [my emphasis]." The word "conflagration," with its destructive connotation, is certainly not what Malaniuk implies; its use as a leitmotif throughout the introduction may give some readers a false impression.

In a brief editor's note Luckyj explains that *Shevchenko and the Critics* was meant to be "a selection of the most significant Shevchenko criticism from the time of his death to the present." It is obvious from the geographic, temporal, and political diversity of the selection that the editor has succeeded in providing the "wide spectrum" of articles he wanted. What may be unclear to the student is what Luckyj meant by "significant." In

reading Rubchak's introduction one sometimes gets the distinct impression that what Luckyj judged to be "significant" Rubchak found less so. In several places Rubchak voices the opinion that an article has little significance for our time and still less for the understanding of Shevchenko; for Rubchak these articles are interesting primarily for what they say about the epoch or author that produced them. On the other hand, Rubchak praises a number of articles that are not part of this anthology. In his note, Luckyj seems to explain this as a matter of taste by stating that it is "impossible to satisfy every taste and predilection." True as that may be, the student deserves to know the criteria by which these articles were selected. Was an article chosen because it contains intrinsically valuable data, because it is representative of its time, because it is typical of a trend or point of view, or because it illustrates the work of a major scholar, thinker, politician, or critic? Such questions are important because the volume does contain articles of different caliber. The student should be made aware that they were not all judged by the same yardstick and that their "significance" derives from radically different premises.

Despite these weaknesses, this volume will undoubtedly prove useful in classes not only of Ukrainian literature, but also of Ukrainian culture. Its shortcomings ought to be kept in perspective: it is, after all, the first English anthology of Shevchenko criticism directed specifically at a college audience. One hopes that with input from the teaching community, the blemishes of this valuable and welcome work will disappear from its future editions.

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POETA I PROROK. RZECZ O PROFETYZMIE MICKIEWICZA. By *Wiktor Weintraub.* Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1982. 433 pp. 150 zł.

Literature and prophecy, especially in relation to Mickiewicz, the poet in whose work Polish Romantic messianism finds its most perfect expression, has for many years been the focus of Professor Weintraub's scholarly attention. His new book is the summa of his researches, and it is a fair guess that by reason of its quality it will remain the last word on the subject past the end of this century. The great merit of *Poeta i prorok* is that it explores to the full the traditional notion of Mickiewicz as *vates.* In consequence prophetism, or what looks more like prophetomania, can now be seen as the mainspring of Mickiewicz's life and work during very nearly the whole period between 1829 and 1844.

The mark of the prophet, in Mickiewicz's view, was the gift of poetic improvisation, with which he considered himself to be exclusively endowed. In actual fact there seem to have been in the 1820s quite a few minor exponents of that art who practiced it professionally in drawing rooms. The elaborate theory of mystical or prophetic poetry is the work of the theosophist Saint-Martin. It was the Polish Martinist and painter, Oleszkiewicz, who initiated Mickiewicz, during his stay in St. Petersburg, into the teachings of Saint-Martin and kindled in him the belief in his own prophetic vocation. Weintraub says quite plainly and rightly that Saint-Martin dissolved poetry in prophetism. He does not tell us in so many words that Mickiewicz the poet was finally drowned in the same solution. Deliberately abstaining from all aesthetic, intellectual, or moral judgment, Weintraub traces with meticulous care the ancestry of these and other ideas—literary, religious and political—that at different times entered Mickiewicz's mind and affected his personal conduct or literary production. This is done so well that to the unwary a literary text might appear to be the product of a union between abstract ideas and poetic genius.

Mickiewicz's obsession with prophetism helps to explain the nature of the struggle within the psyche of Konrad, the guilt-ridden hero of *Dziady*, part III, caught between Christian humility and satanic pride. That struggle reflects the conflict in Mickiewicz himself between two conceptions of the destiny of the poet: the titanic and the religious. The first allows Konrad to challenge the authority of God, the second demands complete subordination to His commands. Konrad's personal drama is intertwined with the fate of his nation, which is dominated by the antagonism between Poland and Russia. *Dziady* III is dedicated to the martyrs in the national cause. In the foreword the author, the Konrad of act I, describes himself as the Traveler or Pilgrim referred to in the subsequent narrative fragment ("Ustęp"). Weintraub, concerned with the prophetic element, deplores the discord between the ecstatic optimism of Ksiądz Piotr's prophetic vision in scene 5 and the somber catastrophism of Oleszkiewicz's long-range prediction in the narrative sequel. The decrescendo, in Weintraub's opinion, diminishes the visionary authenticity of the work taken as a whole and makes Mickiewicz's prophetism look like a mere poetic device. To this it may be retorted that the narrative fragment is not closely enough connected with the dramatic scenes to make any such contradiction obvious. Neither the setting, nor the atmosphere, nor even the personae are the same. Konrad is not named; Oleszkiewicz is not a Christian priest, but an occultist. Both he and the poet ponder the future of a country which is not their own. Moreover, whereas the events foretold in the vision of Ksiądz Piotr did not, in the end, come to pass, the question posed by the Pilgrim: "When the warm wind begins to blow from the west, what will then become of the frozen cascade of tyranny?" and the warning uttered by Oleszkiewicz: "May Heaven spare us the sight of the third and final trial reserved for St. Petersburg," considered in the light of events which

occurred only in this century, show a surprising degree of foresight.

In 1832 Mickiewicz took temporary leave of prophecy to write his celebrated novel in verse, *Pan Tadeusz*, in which, as Weintraub shows, the master of poetic narration plucked up the courage to parody his other mystical and Romantic self. But this lucid and serene interval was of short duration. With the *Księgi Pielgrzymstwa* and the articles contributed to the émigré periodical *Pielgrzym Polski*, Mickiewicz's prophetism entered the realm of politics.

The very thorough reexamination of Mickiewicz's lectures on Slavonic literature given at the Collège de France between 1840 and 1844 shows conclusively that the poet turned professor did not directly engage in prophecy or, until the end of the fourth and last course, in propaganda on behalf of the mystagogue Towiański under whose spell he had fallen. He did, however, use his academic position to proclaim *ex cathedra* the messianic mission of the Slavs in general and the Poles in particular. In support of his message Mickiewicz pointed to signs, omens, and portents in the whole of Polish literature and invested with prophetic meaning the work of many minor and obscure authors.

Mickiewicz's paradoxical or prophetic interpretation of the meaning of history, developed not long before 1836, can also serve as an explanation of his treatment of the history of literature. The past and the future, wrote Mickiewicz in one of his *Zdania i uwagi*, are equally remote from us. Only he who has divined the future can understand the past. In other words, the past becomes comprehensible only when God's scheme for mankind has been revealed and comprehended. The prophet, as critic having looked forward, can then look backwards to judge the achievements of the past by firm and absolute standards.

Weintraub moves over this hallowed and treacherous ground with great tact and sensitivity; he does not allow himself to be exasperated by his hero's frequent lapses from the peaks of patriotism, altruism, and universalism into the depths of personal and national megalomania, irrationalism, fanaticism, and obscurantism. The twisted path trodden by this self-appointed prophet and traced by Weintraub with such precision is, alas, a downward one. Even the quality of Mickiewicz's prophetism is doubtful: it comes closer to pious wishing and political propaganda than to that more liberal function assigned to it by C. M. Bowra, in whose definition "Prophetic poetry is concerned with humanity, with its desires for more abundant life and its menace of man-made hells. In almost every case where it succeeds the poet's vision is inspired by an overriding concern for mankind and its weakness or its wickedness. It is this which provokes alike promise of ultimate felicity and warnings of annihilating doom." The decline of the poet, especially during the period of his Paris lectures, has to be set against the background of the crisis in his personal life. About 1842 a fellow poet, Teofil Lenartowicz, remarked in a clear allusion to Mickiewicz: "The Polish prophets are more akin to David than to

Jeremiah or Isaiah. They adore the fair sex and from this results the plague and other afflictions." The quotation is taken from one of Boy-Żeleński's essays on Mickiewicz, essays which remain the indispensable subsidiary reading for the study of this portion of a tragic and tortured life.

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THE KIEVAN RUSSIAN PRINCIPALITY: 860–1240. By *John L. Evans.* Orlando, Fla.: Associated Faculty Press, 1983. 127 pp. $12.00.

Twenty-five years have elapsed since publication in the West of a first-rate survey of the history of Kievan Rus'. Unquestionably, an updated version of the late George Vernadsky's *Kievan Russia* would be a useful contribution to students' understanding of the pre-history of the Ukraine. Mr. Evans' effort, alas, is not very helpful. His little volume is poorly written and edited. It reveals paltry knowledge of relevant primary sources and virtually no awareness of recent scholarship in the United States, in Western Europe, or in the USSR pertaining to Kiev. Finally, it presents the history of Kievan Rus' in simplistic chronological fashion, with minimal attention to those historiographical issues which bring to life this fascinating time in human history. In short, Mr. Evans addresses an important subject, attempts to fill an important gap, but, in this reviewer's opinion, his book should not be recommended to college-level students with the remotest interest in early Slavic history.

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RUSSIA'S WESTERN BORDERLANDS, 1710–1870. By *Edward C. Thaden*, with the collaboration of *Marianna Forster Thaden.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984. xi, 278 pp. $30.00.

As every student of the Austrian Empire knows, governing a multinational empire was no easy matter. On the one hand, the sovereign had to deal with the legacies of the political systems that had preceded the empire in the territories annexed to it. On the other hand, he had to contend with the new self-consciousness and self-assertiveness the nineteenth century awakened in peoples hitherto viewed as lacking a history.

With a scholarly and linguistic virtuosity that invites comparison with C. A. Macartney's study of the Habsburg Empire, the Thadens show that Russia's western possessions were no less of a problem. They also ably

challenge the stereotype of Russian imperial policy as consistently centralizing and russifying by setting out the complexity of the various policies carried out in the areas annexed by the tsarist state in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This they do by tracing the very different experiences of the Ukrainian and Belorussian territories annexed in the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Poland proper, the Baltic states, and Finland. They conclude that at least seven factors and circumstances impeded administrative centralization and national homogenization:

(1) The personal and arbitrary power of the tsar was not exercised consistently in support of the policies of centralizing officials in St. Petersburg; at times it was also exercised in defense of the special privileges, rights, and interests of the borderlands.

(2) Because Peter I and many of his successors held up the laws, institutions, and the social and political organization of the western borderlands as models for the rest of the empire, Russian centralizers often found it difficult to justify the imposition of the empire's norms on these borderlands.

(3) Problems connected with the preservation of social order in a vast old-regime, multinational empire in which serfdom existed until 1861 tended to make Russia's rulers depend locally on the cooperation of the western borderlands' dominant German, Polish, and Swedish elites.

(4) During wars with Sweden, Turkey, and France, foreign-policy considerations led to the granting of concessions and new rights to the privileged elites of the western borderlands, making it all the more difficult for the officials in St. Petersburg to achieve uniformity and centralization in administering the affairs of the empire.

(5) Beginning in the 1820s and 1830s, the growing incompatibility of Russian and Polish objectives in the western gubernias and Congress Poland led to conflicts that strained the empire's human and financial resources to the utmost.

(6) Religion, partly because of the policies pursued by the Russian state, turned out to be a divisive rather than unifying force in the western borderlands.

(7) In the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century, German, Polish, and Swedish elites began to use forces of social change and modernization to develop local particularism; it was only toward the very end of the period treated in this study that certain Russian intellectuals and officials understood that the same forces could be used to bring about the integration of the western borderlands into the general social, economic, and political structure of the empire. (pp. 231–232)

The Left-Bank Ukraine has explicitly been excluded from this study on the grounds that Hetman Mazepa's 1708 defection was followed by such steady erosion of Cossack rights and privileges that by the turn of the nineteenth century the area was "pretty much integrated into the social,

economic, and political structure of the Russian Empire" (p. viii). Yet a good, if abbreviated survey of developments there is given (pp. 24–25, 36–39), based on the works of Frank E. Sysyn, Zenon E. Kohut, and others, along with a detailed and provocative discussion of why its fate was so different from that of the Baltic territories annexed by Peter (pp. 8–12).

The Right-Bank Ukraine is treated in much greater detail. Its institutional, educational, religious, and national development is traced from the beginning of Russian interference before annexation to the suppression of Ukrainian activities in the 1860s and 1870s. The Thadens' discussion encompasses the autocracy's gradual shift from a policy of reliance upon and primary concern with the Polish landowning class, the decline of this stratum, and the rise of a whole new set of concerns connected with the birth of Ukrainian nationalism in the nineteenth century.

The Thadens have given us a work of synthesis. The specialist on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ukraine—or, for that matter, any other single "borderland"—will learn little about his or her own speciality. What the reader will learn, however, is how the parts fit into the heterogeneous whole, how the Russian Empire functioned as an empire ruling very different lands, often in a very different manner. This book is warmly recommended to everyone interested in understanding how Russia ruled its western possessions, that is, to everyone interested in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Baltic, Belorussian, or Finnish history.

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THE WELL-ORDERED POLICE STATE: SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE THROUGH LAW IN THE GERMANIES AND RUSSIA, 1600–1800. By *Marc Raeff.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983. ix, 284 pp. $23.50.

In 1975 the noted Russian historian Marc Raeff published a thought-provoking essay entitled, "The Well-Ordered Police-State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe" (*American Historical Review* 80:1221–45). The book under review is a much enlarged and more fully elaborated series of essays on the same subject. Raeff's thesis is that the political attitudes associated with modernity—dynamism, goal-orientation, rationalism, and production-orientation—evolved in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe and were fostered by "the well-ordered police states" of the Germanies and Russia.

In the first essay, Raeff traces the intellectual trends which culminated in a belief that natural resources could be harnessed and increased and that human behavior could be reshaped to increase the power and wealth of the state and, by implication, the welfare of the individual. The second essay examines the ordinances and regulations enacted by the German states to streamline procedures, encourage economic activity, and provide guidance for their subjects in all aspects of public behavior. The instruments through which the state inculcated such behavior were the constituted bodies—i.e., estates, guilds, municipalities—that were disciplined but not destroyed by the absolutist state. Gradually the new modern ethos was accepted by society, and when absolutism was replaced by more representative forms of government, society itself could function in a goal-oriented and dynamic fashion. Private initiative, far from being stifled, was encouraged, for the increase of private wealth and productivity increased the power and wealth of the state.

The third essay examines how the concepts of a "well-ordered police state" were applied to Russia. Since Russia lacked the estates and local corporations, the state did not have partners through which it could discipline and regulate society. The state itself became the major modernizer, and it carried out modernization through a newly created bureaucracy. But the state could not even reach its subjects at the local level, let alone discipline, encourage, and guide a civil society. Catherine II, through charters to the nobility, towns, and state peasants, attempted to create a civil society. But Catherine refused to grant sufficient autonomy so that the social groupings could develop into a *Ständestaat*, the prerequisite for a *Rechtsstaat*. In the end, Peter I and Catherine II succeeded in creating a modernized elite which continued to be entirely dependent on the state. Thus, the model of the Germanies was reversed: instead of the state's encouraging private activities and initiative, such activities were made dependent on state needs and services. Russia failed to develop a modern civil society; instead, it fostered a radical intelligentsia which had its own agenda for reorganizing society.

Raeff offers an elegant model for the successful development of modern Europe as well as for the inadequate development of the Russian Empire. The first question that this model raises is that of the link with absolutism. The least absolutist states—England and Holland—provided the earliest and most pervasive examples of the modern ethos. Clearly, in those countries, agencies and groups other than the absolutist state were responsible for the "guidance and disciplining" of society and for inculcating attitudes of goal-orientation and production-orientation. Comparison with non-absolutist states would shed greater light on what factors were responsible for promoting modernity in the West and why and to what extent the "well-ordered police state" was its motor in Central and Eastern Europe.

The most impressive part of Raeff's study is the extensive analysis of the numerous regulations issued in the Germanies. He shows how the ordinances evolved from promoting the status quo in the sixteenth century to issuing instructions for the improvement of hygiene, agriculture, trade, and manufacturing in the eighteenth century. Although the examples adduced are both extensive and convincing, they tell little about the state's method of enforcement or the impact its ordinances had on the population. Raeff claims that the implementation of the ordinances frequently was left to the constituted bodies, which were readily coopted by the central authorities. Yet he does not demonstrate how the local bodies were coopted. In many instances, these constituted bodies were locked in mortal combat with the central authorities and faced elimination rather than cooptation. If one accepts the premise that the constituted bodies did facilitate the development of the modern ethos, then is it not possible that their contribution could have been due to factors other than the disciplining actions of the state (e.g., the general intellectual climate)? Moreover, the numerous ordinances—whether promulgated by the central authorities or local bodies—were still an expression of intentions rather than orders followed by compliance. In fairness to Raeff, he is concerned primarily in establishing broad trends and consciously avoids minute case studies. To prove conclusively his thesis, however, case studies—particularly on the role of the intermediary bodies and the impact of the ordinances—will be necessary.

Raeff's application of the notion of the "well-ordered police state" to Russia proved to be controversial even prior to the publication of his book. In a discussion in *Slavic Review* (vol. 41, no. 4; winter 1982), several historians questioned particulars of the model or, in the case of Isabella de Madriaga, the utility of the model itself. It seems to me that, at least during the reign of Catherine II, elements of the "Polizeistaat" had been borrowed to a considerable extent. These elements were not adopted in any pure form—which did not exist anywhere—but selectively, and were augmented with other borrowings, particularly from the French Enlightenment. Catherine certainly shaped some of the goals of the well-ordered police state (though she would not have used such terminology), and attempted to implement them through a series of laws.

Even the partial implementation of the principles of the "well-ordered police state" in Russia had important consequences for the Ukraine. One of the presuppositions in governing the "well-ordered" polity was that the political unit was a single entity, an organic whole, which had to be ruled for the benefit of the entire commonwealth. Autonomous areas, regional rights, and distinct possessions of the monarch were thought to be contrary to the concept of the common good and the well-ordered polity. This gave Catherine II additional impetus for pursuing the traditional Russian policy of limiting Ukrainian autonomy. During her reign, the autonomy of the Hetmanate (guaranteed by the 1654 Pereiaslav agreement), of the

Zaporozhian Cossack Host, and of the Sloboda Ukraine was abolished, and these Ukrainian areas became simply provinces of the Russian Empire. As Catherine's policy brought forth the uniformly administered yet multinational empire, it set the stage for subsequent imperial rigidity in dealing with non-Russian nationalities.

Raeff presents a sophisticated model of the well-ordered police state's pivotal role in the promotion of modernity. Like all models, it represents an ideal type, and it fits only partially the specific conditions prevailing in countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The validity of the model depends on whether it really explains the intent and outcome of the administrative and legislative reforms. Although Raeff marshals a great deal of evidence, the model still needs refinement and testing. As he indicates, specific studies on the advent of modernity and the role of the state both in Western and Eastern Europe will ultimately determine the model's contribution to our understanding of the making of the modern world. Whatever the long-term judgment on his model may be, historians will be indebted to Raeff for providing us with an erudite and original study which has generated and will continue to generate lively discussions and which will stimulate further research.

Zenon E. Kohut
Library of Congress

DIE REVOLUTIONSJAHRE 1848/49 IM KÖNIGREICH GALIZIEN-LODOMERIEN (EINSCHLIESSLICH BUKOWINA): DOKUMENTE AUS ÖSTERREICHISCHER ZEIT. [Edited] by *Rudolf Wagner.* Munich: Verlag "Der Südostdeutsche," 1983. 192 pp. map. DM 35.

The documents and essays in this collection refer to Bukovyna from the mid-1770s to the early 1800s, as well as to the revolutionary years 1848–49 in both Galicia and Bukovyna. Most of the documents have already been published, but the original publications are rare. The volume is a product of the local patriotism of Germans who formerly lived in Bukovyna (*Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen*) and falls far short of being a scholarly edition.

The first part of the volume (pp. 11–26) is intended as an introduction to the political situation in Galicia in 1848. It consists largely of a compilation of extracts from the minutes of the *Reichstag*, focusing on the issues of compensation for the abolition of corvée labor and the proposal to divide Galicia into administratively separate western (Polish) and eastern (Ukrainian) parts. Among the *Reichstag* materials cited at length are the famous speech by Ukrainian peasant deputy Ivan Kapushchak against compensation, the answer to the latter by Polish deputy Marian Dylewski,

and the debate over the division of Galicia (January 1849) involving not only Ukrainian and Polish spokesmen (Bishop Hryhorii Iakhymovych and Florian Ziemiałkowski) but also the most prominent leaders of the Czech national movement (František Rieger and František Palacký).

Reprints of political leaflets from 1848 comprise the second part of the volume (pp. 26–73). The leaflets, all originally in German, concern the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, particularly the conflict over the proposed division of Galicia. Most of the leaflets emanate from the Ukrainian camp, the Supreme Ruthenian Council, or persons close to it, but there are also responses from the Polish side. Some minor errors occur in the reprinted texts (as revealed by comparison with the facsimile reproductions included), and the editor makes no attempt to tell us whether any of the leaflets were republished between 1848 and the appearance of the present volume. This part of the volume ends with extracts from the *Reichstag* minutes illustrating the Austrian government's attitude to the question of the division of Galicia (pp. 73–76) and the role of Galician German deputies in the *Reichstag* (pp. 77–79).

The revolution of 1848–49 in Bukovyna is the subject of the third section of the volume (pp. 81–103), an essay by the editor which relies on the work of Raimund Friedrich Kaindl and quotes copiously from the minutes of the *Reichstag.* Of particular interest to Ukrainian historians are quotations from the debate over the status of Bukovyna; Ukrainians wished it to remain administratively in (eastern) Galicia, while Romanians, supported by the Poles of Galicia and Germans of Bukovyna, called for its establishment as an autonomous, separate crownland. The editor, unaware of the studies by Ivan Franko and F. P. Shevchenko in Ukrainian and by Roman Rosdolsky in German, presents a very confused picture of the activities of Lukiian Kobylytsia in the revolutionary years.

The fourth part of the volume (pp. 105–125) contains a translation from the French of General Gabriel von Spléný's description of Bukovyna published in 1790. The editor provides no biographical information about Spléný, who commanded the Austrian troops in their final occupation of Bukovyna in the late summer of 1774, and who, in his capacity as imperial commissioner, presided over the Bukovynian ceremony of homage to Austria (*Huldigung*) in 1777 and introduced a number of educational reforms while Bukovyna was under Austrian military administration (until 1787). Even more regrettably, the editor does not explain the relationship of the text published here to the longer one published by Johann Polek in 1893 (cited in the bibliography). Spléný's description of Bukovyna, as included in this volume, contains information on the geography, population, social structure, economy, and administration of Bukovyna in the 1770s.

The remainder of the volume consists of previously unpublished documents from the Viennese archives. These were originally discovered by the late Erich Prokopowitsch, once *Universitätsquästor* in Chernivtsi who later made significant contributions to the history of his *Heimat.* The

documents are a report on the cultural life and school system in Bukovyna, composed by Ferdinand Dans of Pechenizhyn (Galicia) in 1803 (pp. 127–34; the original is in the *Verwaltungsarchiv*), and the letters of Albert von Kugler, director of the state-owned estate in Ilişeşti (German: Illischestie), to Dans, 1793–1798 (pp. 135–87; the editor does not say where the original is preserved). The editor provides little biographical information on Dans and Kugler and the documents appear without annotation. Kugler's letters are particularly valuable. Dans questioned him about many details of Bukovynian geography, ethnography, and economy, and Kugler conscientiously researched his answers, either firsthand or through informants. Although totally unsystematic in presentation, the facts and opinions recorded in Kugler's correspondence are very useful for an understanding of Bukovyna in the late eighteenth century.

The volume ends with a brief and poorly chosen bibliography. The only entry representing Ukrainian scholarship is a pamphlet by J. B. Rudnyckyj on the names "Galicia" and "Volhynia." Thus it ignores important relevant works in the Ukrainian language (e.g., the series of studies on 1848–49 published in the *Zapysky NTSh* near the turn of the century; the encyclopedic *Bukovyna* by D. Kvitkovs'kyi, T. Bryndzana, and A. Zhukovs'kyi; M. Danylak's study of West Ukrainians in the revolution of 1848–49; the rich literature on Bukovyna that has recently been appearing in the Soviet Ukraine; and the outstanding documentary collection *Klasova borot'ba selianstva Skhidnoi Halychyny*) and by Ukrainians in Western languages (e.g., the brief survey of the Ukrainians in Galicia in 1848–49 by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak and the two monographs on the Austrian revolution by Roman Rosdolsky). Polish scholarship is also underrepresented (e.g., major studies by Jan Kozik and Stefan Kieniewicz are absent from the bibliography). There is no index to the volume. The book is, however, profusely illustrated and contains a full-size reproduction of a map of Galicia (also showing parts of Bukovyna) from 1795.

Although from the standpoint of standards of historical scholarship the volume under review leaves much to be desired, the editor, Rudolf Wagner, and the Bukovyna *Landsmannschaft* are to be congratulated for bringing out this interesting and enlightening collection of documents. If the documents included in this volume were first published or republished by amateur, not professional, historians, it is the latter who are to blame. Even as it stands, the collection is indispensable for anyone researching Western Ukraine and Eastern Austria in the last quarter of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century.

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THE LAWFUL REVOLUTION: LOUIS KOSSUTH AND THE HUNGARIANS, 1848–1849. By *Istvan Deak*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. 455 pp. $22.50.

Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) was probably the most colorful Hungarian leader in modern times. He was also the best known Hungarian politician outside of Hungary, because during his almost half-century in exile after 1849, he travelled extensively, attracting liberal-minded politicians in Western Europe and the United States who liked to court patriotic revolutionaries who had struggled to preserve freedom in the face of a despotic empire—in this case, the Habsburg Empire. Kossuth began his career in the 1830s as a passionate, even demagogic, journalist and politician, a role he continued in the 1840s. It is for his role during the anti-Habsburg revolution of 1848–1849, however, that he is best remembered. During those stormy years, he first became minister of finance and then prime minister of Hungary's revolutionary government. Finally, in April 1849, he was declared governor of an independent Hungarian republic, a position with semidictatorial powers which he held until the defeat of the Hungarian cause at the hands of Austrian and Russian imperial armies in August 1849.

Having played such a leading role during one of modern Hungary's most crucial political events, it is not surprising that Kossuth has become the subject of innumerable, often impassioned, studies by Hungarian and non-Hungarian scholars and publicists alike. Efforts at writing dispassionate analyses have been hampered by Kossuth's acquired symbolic value. He came to symbolize that element in Hungarian political culture that considered armed confrontation—despite little likelihood of success—as the best means to achieve autonomy or independence. Kossuth thereby is part of a heroic pantheon: his predecessor is Ferenc Rákóczi and his successors are the revolutionaries of 1956. The opposite political trait, namely, outward acquiescence to external rule and efforts to compromise if these bring concrete advantages for Hungarian society, have also been praised and at times appreciated by Hungarians who came to realize the wisdom of policies carried out by figures such as István Széchenyi, Jozsef Eötvös, and Ferenc Déak in the nineteenth century and János Kádár today.

Istvan Deak of Columbia University has managed quite successfully to free himself of the biases that frequently characterize Kossuth studies. Professor Deak's book is not a biography spanning Kossuth's long career, but rather an analysis of his activity during the critical years of the 1848–49 revolution. The monograph is characterized throughout by a refreshing and credible objectivity in which the central figure is neither the idolized savior of the Hungarian nation nor the devil incarnate, whose own demands for freedom were hardly applied to the "less deserving" Slavs living within Hungary's borders.

The only Ukrainian territory directly affected by the Hungarian revolution of 1848–1849 was Transcarpathia (Subcarpathian Rus'). Professor Deak makes only passing reference to the Transcarpathian Ukrainians or Ruthenians. While it is true that the Transcarpathians did not have a direct impact on Hungarian revolutionary developments, there are a few aspects worth remembering and some problems that still deserve attention. These same revolutionary years were also marked by the first important political and cultural activity to occur in Transcarpathian life, led by Adol'f Dobrians'kyi and Reverend Oleksander Dukhnovych. Both believed in the desirability of territorial unity with Ruthenians in neighboring Galicia, and both were also ideologically Russophiles, believing their own people were the same as "Russians" who lived in the rest of "Little" Russia, Belorussia, and "Great" Russia.

The work of these two leaders is well known in Ukrainian writings on the period, including the fact that Dobrians'kyi was the Austrian imperial liaison to the tsarist Russian army that was sent in 1849 to help Vienna crush its recalcitrant Hungarians. What is less well known is that Dobrians'kyi and Dukhnovych were isolated and often scorned by the dominant Greek Catholic hierarchy and clergy who were staunchly pro-Hungarian and who, like the *gens fidelissima* of the Rákóczi days, supported Hungarian revolutionary demands at least until the declaration of independence. Moreover, as Deak points out, Mukačevo was one of the few fortresses that did not fall to the Austrian authorities until after the final surrender of the Hungarian revolutionary armies.

Much has also been discussed in existing literature about the supposed "Russophile," "pan-Slavic," or "pro-Ukrainian" sympathies of the local Transcarpathian intelligentsia and the masses. Stories of how the peasants warmly greeted "Russian" troops or of how Dukhnovych "cried with delight" at seeing Cossacks on the streets of Prešov have been repeated uncritically by most authors (including myself) who have written about this period. Those skeptical of the sudden, almost elemental outburst of pro-Russian "brotherly love" must obviously be deluded, so their opponents thought, by their pro-Hungarian patriotism.

Yet it may be interesting to consider the comments of the distinguished Soviet Russian painter and art historian Igor Grabar, who, as grandson of the very same Subcarpathian politician Adol'f Dobrians'kyi, can hardly be accused of either pro-Hungarian or anti-Russian sentiments. Grabar was raised during the 1870s on the estate of his maternal grandfather, Dobrians'kyi, in the Carpathian village of Čertižné in the Rusyn-inhabited Prešov region of what is today northeastern Czechoslovakia. Grabar recalls in his memoirs (1937): "I remember sadly—literally as if in far-off dreams—all those tales [by grandfather] about the Russian troops in Hungary; but I remember very well my own embarrassment and bewilderment when, having listened to the tales of these same events by the Čertižné peasants, of their personal experiences as well as the tales of the children

retold from their fathers, I made the unexpected discovery that the exploits lauded by my grandfather were, thirty years later, still being cursed by all the population in our area. They told of all kinds of brutalities by the Cossacks and 'Moskali'. . . .I remember how mothers frightened their children (saying) that the 'Moskali' were coming. This totally confused me, although I decided not to ask my grandfather for an explanation of these strange contradictions, knowing that he would not tolerate such objections." (*Igor Emmanuilovich Grabar'* [Moscow and Leningrad, 1937], p. 20).

The use of a few documentary sources to reveal the attitudes of society as a whole has perhaps created a distorted picture of Transcarpathian society during and after the revolutionary era of 1848–49, a picture of peasants and their few leaders ostensibly suffering under Hungarian oppression and just waiting for the day when they would be liberated by their tsarist Russian brothers. Ukrainian and other Slavic historians should be grateful to Professor Deak for having produced an excellent study on Kossuth and for having inadvertently provoked questions about Transcarpathian society during the second half of the nineteenth century—questions to which Ukrainian scholarship should address itself further.

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TERRORISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS: THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT UNDER ALEXANDER II. By *Norman M. Naimark.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983. 309 pp. $25.00.

Soviet historiography treats the history of the revolutionary movement in the nineteenth-century Russian Empire and the genealogy of the CPSU as virtually synonymous developments: the "revolutionary democrats" are traced to the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, at which point the focus shifts to Plekhanov and the origins of Russian Social Democracy. Western scholarship has in general followed this periodization, despite the fact that a weakened *Narodnaia volia* continued to function for years after the regicide and consequent police repressions: Franco Venturi, for instance, ended his *Roots of Revolution* with the assassins' execution on 3 April 1881.

Norman Naimark's new book, however, "seeks to recover a missing act in the nineteenth-century Russian revolutionary drama," namely, the period between the assassination of the tsar and the renewed interest in revolutionary politics sparked by the autocracy's ineptitude in dealing with the famine of 1891–92. The author's attempt succeeds, due to his pains-

taking research in the archives of the old Ministry of Justice and its dossiers on 5,000 members of the revolutionary movement. He portrays an autocracy haunted by the fear of assassination conspiracies and determined to employ any means to track down real or potential enemies; a *Narodnaia volia* that remained dominant in the revolutionary movement for years after 1881; a nascent Social Democratic trend (or trends) primarily interested in politicizing the working class; and underground organizations inside Russia more willing to work together than was either wing's émigré leadership.

Many books leave the reader with the impression that their information could have been presented in half the space; the reader of this book might wish that the author had devoted two or three times as many pages to his sketches of provincial revolutionary organizations. Undoubtedly Naimark would have had little trouble writing more, especially about the activities of *Narodnaia volia* in "the South."

There are a few lapses to make the reader wince, however. For example, the author seems to have discovered that there were Ukrainians in the revolutionary movement only in the penultimate chapter, where he notes that Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, and other nationalities played a "disproportionate" role. Earlier in the book, Mykola Ziber, a Ukrainian activist prominent in the Kiev Old Hromada as well as the first academic to have popularized Marxism in the university lecture halls of the empire, is identified as "the Russian economist N. I. Ziber" (p. 70). Personal names and place-names always appear in either their Russian or Polish variant. Data on the national and ethnic composition of *Narodnaia volia* is banished to the endnotes, in spite of the fact that the prominence of Poles and Jews in the movement is one of the author's recurrent themes. Finally, the index is rather less than adequate, for a number of important persons mentioned in the text are omitted.

These criticisms pale, however, next to the achievement of this groundbreaking study, which does precisely what it sets out to do—it restores a "missing act" in the history of the Russian Empire and of those who worked to overthrow it.

James E. Mace
Harvard University

SOCIALISM IN GALICIA: THE EMERGENCE OF POLISH SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND UKRAINIAN RADICALISM (1860–1890). By *John-Paul Himka.* Monograph Series. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983. 244 pp. $15.95, paper. Distributed by Harvard University Press.

Himka has transformed a solid, exceptionally well-researched and well-conceived dissertation into an important, crisply written, and tightly argued book—rare, especially in East European studies, in that it is readable, important, and avoids pedantry in the delineation of its topic. This is a book distilled from meticulous research, much of it archival. The author has written a study on the basis of his material, not simply presented data for the reader to struggle with as best he can.

Himka treats Galicia as the administratively integrated unit —which in fact it was — with the influential Polish presence within it. He cuts through the knotty issues in the history of the Poles and the Ukrainians in bold, quick strokes. His discussion moves naturally between the Poles and the Ukrainians, and the interaction between the two groups is integrated into a smoothly flowing narrative. The conception of socialism going beyond Marxism is both historically correct and methodologically sound. It is, of course, pivotal to the whole book and makes this a truly original study.

The chronological limits, while unconventional, make eminent sense. They define the period preparatory to the formation of mass political parties in Galicia. The book ends with the establishment of separate Ukrainian Radical and Polish Socialist parties. This is preceded by a full discussion of the half-hearted attempts of the Poles to accept the unity proffered by the Ukrainian socialists.

Essentially, Himka argues that Polish socialism developed from an artisan base, clustered more in Lviv than in Cracow, and boosted by influences from Poles in the Russian Empire. Ukrainian radicalism he sees within the context of Drahomanov's influence upon the students and their interrelation, in turn, with the peasantry. Himka's lucid and balanced discussion of the national populist movement is to be recommended to anyone with an interest in nineteenth-century Ukrainian history.

The thesis that the national populists needed to work through the clergy to reach the peasants is well argued. The importance of the 1878 trials both for the political climate of Galicia and for the development of the ideology of the accused is correctly stressed. The cooperation of the Poles in the workers' movement, especially in Lviv in the 1880s, is also well presented, and the changing configurations in the views of individuals and in programs are traced with care. References to the roles of women and Jews, although brief, attest that these topics were of concern to the author.

The book's sharp focus gives it little chance to tell us what it was that the Ukrainians in general were doing, in addition to being downtrodden peasants exploited by the Polish nobility and the Ukrainian clergy. We also get little sense of the actual influence of the radicals, their numbers, and the impact of their work. For instance, how representative or how effective was the anti-clerical agitation in Dobrivliany and Volia Iakubova? Anna Pavlyk, the radical peasant activist, is the subject of a lengthy discussion not because of the impact she had on peasants or on women, but mainly because information about her is readily available and she is considered to have been "the first to conduct socialist agitation among the peasants" (p. 124). On the other hand, the woman who had the most original views on socialism, Natalia Kobryns'ka, is never highlighted—in a sense quite correctly, since she was never permitted to play an active role in the socialist group.

This brings me to my major concern about the book. For all its formidable research, much of the study is based on the works of Franko, Drahomanov, and Pavlyk. While their importance cannot and ought not be denied, I doubt if their perception does full justice to the Galician story. Reliance on the testimony of the radical writers makes the author represent the Ukrainian clergy as a monolithic and wealthy stratum, at odds with the peasants and opposed to their interests. While true on occasion, this does not seem to have been the case generally. One can just as readily draw a picture of an impoverished clergy leading lives that differed little from those of peasants. More significantly, Himka's interpretation makes him overlook how clergy-sponsored associations met general community concerns: even the temperance societies and the lay brotherhoods were schools for the community action that were to become influential among the peasants. Personally, I would also argue that the Prosvita Society should have been given greater prominence than the much smaller Kachkovs'kyi Society. Moreover, to argue that the national populist movement in Galicia was chiefly inspired by the Ukrainian movement in the Russian Empire is to overlook the influence of the Czechs and the ideological impact of contemporary philosophy. Although these matters are not central to Himka's topic, his treatment of them is too succinct.

In Drahomanov's writings the translation of *hromada* as "commune" is apt, but elsewhere "community" would have better reflected the sense of the Ukrainian original. And although Pavlyk would have liked to have been a "storm cloud," translating *khmara* as such is an overinterpretation.

Some of the author's statements should have been made with greater care: for instance, the statement that "Greek Catholics were originally Orthodox Christians forcibly united by the Catholic Poles to the Roman church" (p. 41). Russian historians will object to having Katkov and the Slavophiles referred to as the most reactionary circles of Russian society, since there are other candidates for that distinction. And although it is true that in the Russian Empire the Ukrainian movement was secular, it

should have been noted that such activists as Lotots'kyi came from a clerical milieu. More social detail would have been a welcome addition to the presentation of the politics, ideology, and strategy of the radicals.

My reservations are simply minor disagreements which do not detract from the merits of this work. Himka has written a very useful book, one which ought to generate both debate and additional work on related topics. Those of us who teach courses dealing with European history in general and East European history in particular, or courses on socialism and social movements, owe him a debt of gratitude for a study which places Galicia within the mainstream of significant historical developments.

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THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE FIRST NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN RUSSIA. By *Terrence Emmons.* Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1983. x, 529 pp. map, appendix. $45.00.

The debate over the viability of a liberal-constitutionalist alternative to both autocracy and Bolshevism is as old as the October Revolution itself, if not older. Relating to one of the big "ifs" in history, it can never be resolved definitely one way or the other. But, in addition to generating considerable heat and speculative argument, it has had a highly beneficial effect on historical scholarship concerned with the last decades of tsarism and the causes of the 1917 revolutions. This is particularly true of Western historical research since the early 1960s, though lately it has begun to affect Soviet historical scholarship as well. The book under review is a fine example of the former.

Terrence Emmons believes that the chances for a liberal-constitutionalist solution to the sociopolitical crisis of the old regime in Russia were greatest in 1904–1907. Hence, his book is devoted to a very thorough investigation of the political groups which worked for such a solution at the time, of the social strata which lent them support, and of the means—chiefly electioneering—which they employed to achieve their aim. By such an inquiry, the author aimed at a better understanding of the failure of the forces favoring a liberal-constitutionalist solution. Emmons's book achieves this aim, though to a limited extent.

The core of the book, and its most important and original contribution, consists of a very detailed description and analysis of the electoral campaign before the elections to the First State Duma. The amount of work done by the author is staggering. He appears to have read almost

everything written about the elections in the contemporary press of the two capitals, and he has made much more extensive use of the chancery archive of the Council of Ministers (the Dmitriev-Mamonov materials) than did Mehlinger and Thompson in *Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution* (1972). As a result, we obtain the fullest possible picture of the elections and their results: surely for many years to come, this will remain the standard work on the subject.

The book provides an almost incident-by-incident account of the formation of the Kadet and Octobrist electoral blocs and of their electioneering tactics. It describes and analyzes, by curia and district, the multi-stage elections in each of the fifty provinces of European Russia. The findings are summarized in nineteen tables, in charts and in page after page of detailed commentary. These add much to our knowledge of the conduct of the electorate, in particular of the peasant and the minority electors (on the Ukrainian electors, see esp. pp. 332–35). As a consequence, we are now in a much better position to understand how the Kadets achieved victory at the polls. But these findings add very little, if anything, to what is already known about why the Kadets won the elections or why their victory turned out to be a hollow one.

Emmons's conclusions are sensible, but hardly novel. He states that from the outset the Kadets were faced with a fundamental dilemma: how to apply enough pressure from below on the authorities to force them to agree to the establishment of a liberal-constitutional regime, without unleashing in the process an open-ended social revolution. He asserts that "the Kadet strategy amounted to finessing political reform 'from above' by bringing pressure to bear on the regime from [the] *obshchestvo*, short of revolutionary violence. Reform would lead to an order in which people like themselves . . . would be invested with political authority. Its legitimacy would be grounded in both the popular vote and the tradition of the monarchy": as we all know, this was not to be. The words are fine and they reflect sound judgment, but other historians of Russian liberalism arrived at the same conclusions earlier. Emmons appears rather reluctant to give credit to these other scholars. In the book's conclusions, this omission is merely a mild irritant, but in part one it amounts to more. This section, which together with its endnotes comprises more than a third of the book, deals with the origins and formation of the Kadet party and the Union of October 17—subjects well covered in the literature. If Emmons had given more credit to the work of his predecessors, he could have shortened part one considerably and rendered the book more concise, without impairing its contribution to the subject.

We should, however, be grateful to the author for providing us with what will remain for many years the standard reference book on the elections to the First State Duma.

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THE END OF THE RUSSIAN LAND COMMUNE, 1905–1930. By *Dorothy Atkinson.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983. xii, 472 pp. $29.50.

The Russian land commune—*zemskoe obshchestvo,* or *mir*—has been commonly viewed as the hallmark of Russian peasant collectivism, indeed the hallmark of the Russian peasantry itself, ever since Baron Haxthausen "discovered" it in the 1840s. Russian narodniks saw in it an institution which could enable Russia to pass directly to socialism, entirely bypassing capitalist development. Given the inordinate interest the mir aroused in nineteenth-century Russia, it is astonishing how little attention has been paid to what happened to it in the twentieth century. A sort of collective wisdom developed in Russian studies to the effect that the mir was dealt a mortal blow by the Stolypin reforms and faded away rapidly thereafter. Now, thanks to Professor Atkinson's painstaking research, we know that those who accepted this conventional wisdom were wrong. The mir vigorously reasserted itself in the wake of the revolution and continued to play a central role in the Russian countryside right up to the period of forced collectivization.

The mir was the traditional arbiter of virtually all important questions in Russian village life. Even in the Ukraine, where individualism and private property were much better developed than in Russia, the mir was far from unknown; indeed, it was dominant in the southern steppe and in the Left Bank, where Russian settlements had exerted much influence over agrarian lifestyles. At the same time, its virtual absence in much of the Ukrainian countryside and comparative weakness elsewhere are strong evidence for the fundamentally different view of property and land ownership that distinguishes Ukrainian village society from its Russian counterpart.

Dorothy Atkinson's sprawling book is much more than a history of what happened to the mir. In her study, the mir appears as such an integral part of village life that the book is essentially a history of the countryside with special reference to the mir. The complexity of the source materials often obscures definition of what kind of rural institution is being dealt with. While the traditional Russian repartitional commune is clearly the focus of this study, the sources seldom distinguish between those land societies which redivided the land among its members and those which did not. Were those in Kherson province the same as those

in Tula? What does the fact that the 1920 Ukrainian SSR Land Code made membership in land societies compulsory for all peasants (including those who lived in areas where it had hitherto been unknown) say about the actual functioning of these institutions? How did they differ from those existing in areas where the tradition had persisted for generations? These questions are not answered or even addressed.

The main flaw in this study is that the author's treatment of regional variation is cursory and that treatment of national differences is altogether lacking. It is characteristic that a table (page 86) of the relationship between land price and voluntary withdrawal from the commune before the revolution lists the following "Great Russian" provinces: Katerynoslav, Tavrida, Kharkiv, and Kherson—none of which has ever been preponderantly Great Russian.

Nevertheless, Professor Atkinson's book remains an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of the Russian countryside in the quarter century preceding collectivization. It is also of interest to those concerned with the Ukrainian countryside, not only for its intriguing tidbits of information on land societies in the Ukraine, but also because an understanding of the distinctive features of Ukrainian village life requires a good working knowledge of Russian practices. If one wants to know the Russian countryside prior to collectivization, it would be foolhardy to overlook this valuable treatment of its central institution.

James E. Mace
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EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE SOVIET UNION, 1921–1934. By *Sheila Fitzpatrick.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. 355 pp. $42.50.

This book, a sequel to the author's near classic *Commissariat of Enlightenment,* may now be considered one of the last fruits of detente, since for its "meat and bone" it relies heavily on Soviet archives, access to which was most generously provided the author by Soviet authorities as late as the summer of 1977.

The result is an enlightening and dynamic study that exhibits a wealth of material being made available to American researchers for the first time, and whose conclusion is difficult to dispute.

> In 1917/18, when the Bolsheviks were establishing themselves in power, they sometimes spoke as if a revolutionary government had an infinite variety of policy options, since revolution had liberated the society from the constraints of established tradition . . . . Yet if we look back on the evolution of policy in the educational sphere from the beginning of the 1920s to the mid-1930s, we must be struck not only by the variety of policies considered and in different degrees implemented,

but also by the existence of two overriding imperatives to which policy debate continually returned.

> It was imperative that the Soviet Union should industrialize; and it was imperative that the new regime should create its own elite by educating and promoting workers, peasants, and their children. (p. 254)

To reach this conclusion, the author began with a Marxist-Leninist approach to progressive education, followed by an insightful, though somewhat sketchy, analysis of Soviet educational policies and their implication between 1921 and 1934. The period chosen for study seems to be natural and appropriate; it encompasses the years from the end of the Civil War to the XVII Party Congress, when Stalin publicly proclaimed that the USSR had achieved its major goal—industrialization.

It is from this perspective that Professor Fitzpatrick describes, both at the grass-roots and government levels, the painful, often repulsive, and sometimes chaotic process of creating the Soviet elite. She does not close her (or her reader's) eyes to the effects of the growing brutalization of rural life in the USSR, of teachers in the villages, or of Vyshinskii's innuendos against Lunacharskii's leadership of Narkompros (*Narodnyi kommissariat prosveshcheniia*). The author describes in some detail the *droit de seigneur* exercised by petty Soviet officials on two female rural teachers of alien class origin (p. 161). She also quotes Vyshinskii, who interpreted some discussions in Narkompros on the future of Soviet engineering education as wrecking activity "arising from a single center" (pp. 134–35). Of course, Vyshinskii, as chief prosecutor during the industrial party trial and later procurator-general of the USSR, brought this peculiar interpretation to its logical conclusion. Throughout the Stalin period, Lunacharskii's Narkompros was tainted with disloyalty.

With much attention to the "stick" in the "carrot and stick" formula of Stalin's policy toward the emerging Soviet intelligentsia, Fitzpatrick balances the picture (some would say overbalances it) by analyzing upward social mobility under Stalin. In this respect, her chapter 10 is of enormous interest, especially the analysis of the career dynamics of so-called engineering *vydvizhentsy*—Soviet-trained engineers of proletarian origin who were promoted rapidly to managerial positions in Soviet industry and later found their way into the highest levels of Soviet government and the Communist party apparatus. Such engineering *vydvizhentsy* comprised one-half of the Soviet Politburo in July 1977, including Leonid Brezhnev, Aleksei Kosygin, and Dmitri Ustinov. This discussion, along broad ideological lines on an "all-Union level," contributes not only to the book's strong points, but also to its drawbacks.

The most obvious of its flaws is the very superficial analysis of educational and social mobility in non-Russian republics. A good example is the case of the Ukraine. The author discusses in detail "Russian," "Ukrainian," and "Komsomol" approaches to the structure of educational institutions. In her interpretation, the "Russian way" was connected

primarily with the restoration and retention of the general secondary school; the "Komsomol way" heavily emphasized a special school for workers, the "rabfak," as the primary institution through which university students should be recruited; and the "Ukrainian way" stressed the role of the "profshkola," or vocational school. Such an analysis automatically detracts attention from the problem of the use of the Ukrainian language in schools and universities in the Ukrainian republic (pp. 128, 188), as well as from the tragic fate of Mykola Skrypnyk, who as Ukrainian Commissar for Education attempted to carve some space for Ukrainian culture during the 1920s.

Another drawback of the analysis is its unified approach to problems of secondary and higher education in the USSR during this period. This approach is difficult to defend considering the future evolution of Soviet educational policies, which include the formation of two separate sets of ministries: the All-Union Ministry of Higher Education, with its branches in the republics (supervising universities and technical colleges), and the Ministry of Enlightenment (supervising high schools).

Some awkward phrases in the book contribute to the author's reputation for having a "soft spot" for Stalin (e.g., "Stalin's heroic achievements" at the end of the main text) and for maintaining a tough stance toward Soviet Jewry (see p. 109).

Being both Jewish and anti-Stalinist (can they be synonymous?), this reviewer nonetheless regards Ms. Fitzpatrick's book as a first-rate piece of scholarship. It can be recommended to anyone seeking facts and well-grounded analysis of the phenomenon of the Cultural Revolution in the USSR. Soviet studies in this country today demand from all those in the field a high degree of tolerance, that is, the acceptance of a fine piece of research irrespective of the subjective motivation or bias of its author.

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CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA, 1928–1931. Edited by *Sheila Fitzpatrick.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984. 309 pp. $9.95, paper.

The only reason to review a paperback that has already been out in hardcover for some years is to make up for the failure to review the work when it was first published. This collection of articles on Stalin's cultural revolution, first published in 1978, is one of the most important Sovietological works to be published in recent years. The contributions are limited to what took place in Moscow and Leningrad; nonetheless, they help explain the total change in Soviet life of which the cultural revolution was an integral part. That explanation is crucial to understanding how the

Soviet Union came to assume its present character, especially in the sphere of nationality policy.

The so-called cultural revolution was initiated in the spring of 1928 with the Shakhty trial, the first of the Stalinist show-trials, designed to portray entire social strata as class enemies to be "rooted out" with the aid of "proletarian vigilance." Self-proclaimed "proletarianizers" were given *carte blanche* to root out anyone who disagreed with them; the urban population was set against the countryside in the orgy of dekulakization and collectivization. The Soviet Union assumed its present character as civil society was simply being demolished. Moshe Lewin defines the process succinctly in his essay: "The process was thus transformed into one of 'state building,' with the whole social structure being, so to speak, sucked into the state mechanism, as if entirely assimilated by it."

The major controversy in interpreting this episode in Soviet history turns on whether the cultural revolution should be viewed as a revolution "from above" or one "from below." Professor Fitzpatrick, the leading exponent of the "revolution from below" thesis, rightly points out that it is really a question of emphasis, since it is true that the show trials *did* attempt to channel the whole witch-hunting process from above, just as it is equally true that the "proletarianizers" had been eager to rout their alleged class foes long before the nod from above allowed them to do so.

Included in this volume are the essays "Cultural Revolution as Class War" by Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Society, State, and Ideology during the First Five Year Plan" by Moshe Lewin, "Educational Strategies and the Cultural Revolution" by Gail Lapidus, "The Construction of the Stalinist Psyche" by David Joravsky, "Marxist Historians during the Cultural Revolution" by George Enteen, "Rural Scholars and the Cultural Revolution" by Susan Solomon, "Pashukanis and the Withering Away of the Law in the USSR" by Robert Sharlet, "Literature Responds to the First Five Year Plan" by Katerina Clark, "Visionary Town Planning during the Cultural Revolution" by Frederick Starr, and "The Cultural Revolution and Western Understanding of the Soviet System" by Jerry Hough. The contributions represent an excellent cross section of current trends in Western Soviet studies.

Any serious student of the Soviet Union should have this collection in his or her library. Its availability as an inexpensive paperback can only be welcomed.

James E. Mace
Harvard University

SOVIET BELIEVERS: THE RELIGIOUS SECTOR OF THE POPULATION. By *William C. Fletcher.* Lawrence, Kansas: The Regents Press, 1981. 259 pp. $27.50.

The author accomplishes three principal tasks in this book. First, he summarizes a large amount of Soviet sociological research on religion in the USSR, dating mostly from the 1960s and early 1970s. Second, he provides a critique of the approaches, methodology, and findings of that research. Third, on the basis of his examination of this research and of other sources, he seeks through "inferential reconstruction" to determine the nature and extent of religious belief in the Soviet Union.

These three tasks are dealt with throughout the work. The question of the number of believers, however, is specifically approached in chapter 4, and dealt with fully in the conclusion.

The first chapter sets out the historical and political background of church-state relations in the USSR. The ideological context of the Soviet sociology of religion, and the different methods used therein, are described in the second chapter. These methods suffer from technical difficulties as well as from problems stemming from ideology; chapter 3 sets out these difficulties. Broaching the question of the number of religious believers in the USSR, chapter 4 explores Soviet researchers' difficulties in establishing criteria and classifications for religious belief and for atheism. The next seven chapters examine various parameters used in Soviet "concrete sociological research," such as age, gender, education, leisure activities, and religious practices, as well as the more elusive category of "world view." In his concluding chapter, Professor Fletcher summarizes his findings and again takes up the question of the number of religious believers in the Soviet Union, with rather startling results.

The work is replete with tables in which the author presents data from various Soviet sociological studies. (A list of these tables would have made the book somewhat handier for reference purposes, but the chapters are short and the tables not difficult to find.) The endnotes, arranged by chapter, with running heads indicating the relevant pages of the text, a 17-page bibliography of books and articles cited, and an index complete the volume.

Fletcher's presentation and critique of Soviet sociological research are thorough and precise. Examples abound. While his extensive paraphrasing of Soviet scholarly literature occasionally makes for tedious reading, it also makes accessible the results of a vast amount of research not otherwise available in English. The author closes each chapter with a summary of his observations.

A fundamental problem, which Fletcher discusses without resolving, is that of defining who is a religious believer. Soviet sociologists have not agreed on even a set of criteria for the definition. Part of the difficulty lies in that, as the author points out, religiousness is a broader concept than

belief in God. This is particularly true in some non-Christian religions. The failure to answer the threshold question of who the religious believer is seriously limits the value of any research on this subject.

Professor Fletcher realistically assesses the perils of relying on Soviet sociological research, plagued as it is with methodological problems and ideological biases. The collection and compilation of data, as well as the presentation of results, is often shoddy; the statistical methods applied, and the analysis of the results obtained, are frequently unsophisticated, if not primitive. Working in an officially anti-religious society, even the most objective Soviet sociologists can hardly escape ideological distortion of their research and findings: inevitably, investigators' biases and respondents' anxieties affect the results. Not least among the distorting factors is the research subjects' awareness that studies of Soviet religious belief are often undertaken in order to devise better ways to combat it.

The author is equally cognizant of the difficulties in interpreting even the most credible results of Soviet research on religion in society. As he readily concedes, the data can be seen to support a variety of interpretations, and many more studies must be completed before conclusions can be drawn with confidence.

It is tempting, nevertheless, to interpret the statistics Professor Fletcher provides. Non-sociologists will find their significance particularly difficult to assess, however, for lack of a frame of reference. Presentation of corresponding data from other countries would help identify the effects of peculiarly Soviet conditions. At the present stage of research, speculation should probably not be encouraged.

Although Fletcher considers the question of the number of Soviet believers to be fundamental, he does not deal with it fully until his final chapter. Consequently, his discussion seems belated and abrupt. Drawing on evidence adduced earlier in the book, particularly in chapter 4, he now points out that most of it concerns only the Russian half of the Soviet population. (On page 209 he erroneously states, "at present the Russians constitute slightly less than 50% of the population of the USSR"; in fact, they constitute slightly more than 50 percent.) It is the insertion into his analysis of the much higher estimates of religiousness among non-Russian peoples that produces his striking conclusion. These estimates are based at least in part on sources not discussed in the preceding chapters. Thus, while Fletcher assesses the religious sector of the Russian population at about 30 percent, he judges that among non-Russians it must constitute around 60 percent. The resulting overall figure, 45 percent of the Soviet population, represents 115 million people.

This book should be useful to both sociologists and Soviet affairs specialists. The former will benefit from the author's thorough account of the specifically Soviet conditions which affect sociological research and findings in the USSR. Both will find useful his summaries of studies by the Soviet scholars Duluman, Iablokov, Klibanov, Kobetskii, Tepliakov, and

Ugrinovich. The author's estimate of the number of religious believers in the USSR, however speculative and hedged with qualifications, is a laudable attempt to answer an important question.

Perhaps more important, however, is this volume's demonstration of the value of a sociological approach to religion in the USSR. To be sure, the Western scholar must rely heavily on secondhand information, subject Soviet methodology to constant critique, and remain aware of distorting factors in the environment; still, his use of Soviet sociological research is amply justified. In making both statistical data and believers' responses available for analysis, that research helps raise a traditionally hazy and speculative discussion to a new level of concreteness and precision. The imponderable nature of religious beliefs need not render an examination of their sociological aspects unscientific or excessively vague. Professor Fletcher's study is a case in point. It should inspire greater efforts in this direction by both Soviet and Western scholars.

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THE FACES OF CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN NATIONALISM. By *John B. Dunlop.* Sponsored by the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford, California. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983. 363 pp. $32.50.

Few contemporary concepts are so emotionally charged and yet so little studied or understood as Russian nationalism. Bias and oversimplification color many Western appraisals, perhaps because the Western tradition itself has been an object of Russian nationalist censure. In this work John B. Dunlop presents a balanced examination of Russian nationalism, then goes on to make a considered appraisal and to present concrete policy recommendations.

The first two chapters establish the historical background of Russian nationalism, covering the period 1917 to 1981. Chapter 3 describes voluntary societies, such as the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, that have been a major form of Russian nationalist activity. Chapter 4 outlines the major social and demographic problems confronting the Soviet Union and examines nationalist reactions to them. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 cover cultural activity, the nationalities problem, and the church. One chapter is devoted to recent discussions of such nationalist mentors as the Slavophiles, and another, to the ideological conflict exemplified by such episodes as the *Molodaja gvardija* affair of 1969–1970. In chapter 10, the author presents the spectrum of Russian nationalist thought as of December 1982, dividing it into two basic tendencies. Of these, he explicitly favors the *vozroždency,* rather than the

National Bolsheviks, as deserving of Western support (p. 268). In the final chapter, Mr. Dunlop discusses certain theoretical concepts, criticizes two "counter-productive" Western approaches, and offers several policy recommendations, ranging from terminological reform to radio broadcasting policy. In a postscript, he discusses relevant Soviet developments of 1979–1982. Five appendices present newly translated *samizdat* and other texts illustrating the subject matter of the study; a comprehensive index follows.

The placement of the chapter on the Slavophiles and other nationalist mentors towards the end of the book, rather than with the opening chapters on historical background, at first seems inappropriate; it is probably justified, however, because the subject is discussed in close connection with its appraisal by contemporary Russian thinkers. Also, if the discussion of contemporary nationalist thought had been placed in an early rather than in the penultimate chapter, it would have been more helpful for an understanding of the material; its actual placement in the book does, however, preserve chronological order.

The author tends to be repetitive (for example, with the term "mobilizational"), no doubt out of a desire for consistency. A more important consideration is, of course, precision; the assertion that "from 988 until 1917 Russia was an Orthodox Christian land" (p. 113) is virtually the only blemish in this regard. Frequent summaries of preceding discussions help the reader assimilate the material. The author provides skillful paraphrases of cited passages, concise formulations of ideological positions, and masterful exposition of ideas. The relationships among the various nationalist positions are carefully presented; the author's differentiation of the *vozroždenec* and National Bolshevik tendencies (pp. 263–65) is a case in point. Likewise, the interplay of ideologies, factions, and interest groups is meticulously traced. In recounting this interplay, Mr. Dunlop maintains a balance among personalities, events, concepts, and publications. He dispels some of the lurid stereotypes of Russian nationalism current in both Soviet and Western literature, taking pains to point out, for example, the more moderate nationalist positions regarding the non-Russian nationalities, Jews, and monarchism. Ample citations, as well as the appendices, bear out his points.

Particularly striking in Mr. Dunlop's work is his documentation of the sheer volume of Russian nationalist sentiment, evidenced by such data as the number of visitors to painter Il'ja Glazunov's exhibits and the entries in the comment book. The complex relationships between "official" and "unofficial" nationalism—as seen, for example, in polemics among both official and *samizdat* publications—are likewise of interest. As Ukrainian scholars are sure to note, this study calls into question the traditional Ukrainian view of Russian nationalism as inherently hostile to the interests of the non-Russian peoples.

Concise but never simplistic, Dunlop's work gives those interested in current Soviet affairs a balanced view of a controversial tendency with major implications for the future of the Soviet Union. His calm appraisal of contemporary Russian nationalism has laid the groundwork for more detailed studies and interpretations.

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POLITICAL REFUGEES AND "DISPLACED PERSONS," 1945–1954: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND GUIDE TO RESEARCH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE UKRAINIANS. By *Yuri Boshyk* and *Boris Balan.* Edmonton, Alberta: The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1982. xliv, 424 pp. $10.00 Can., paper.

The so-called DPs (Displaced Persons), the third wave of Ukrainian emigration to North America, have received relatively little attention from scholars. Indeed, before truly systematic research could be undertaken, someone had to perform the laborious task of detailing where the voluminous source material could be found. Now Boshyk and Balan have provided us with such a guide, one which will long remain a valuable research tool.

The post-war emigration is important not only because it forever altered the face of the Ukrainian community in the West, but also because it provides a wealth of information on Ukrainian territories before the Second World War. Because of our limited access to Soviet Ukrainian society, the experiences of the DP's are crucial in our attempts to understand the world from which they came. The experience of Ukrainian émigrés—the institutions with which they dealt, and the reception they received—also tells us much about the societies which they joined. Research on the transcultural experience of the DP's thus represents a particularly difficult and fascinating field of inquiry.

Boshyk and Balan provide a useful chronology of events crucial to the DP experience followed by guides to archival depositories and records, to the official publications of governments, military authorities, and international organizations which dealt with refugees, and to diaspora publications. The core of the book is its guide to personal archives and manuscript repositories, which will provide scholars with a record of the experience long after the individual members of the third emigration have

passed from the scene. This reference work will be indispensable to scholars of twentieth-century Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as to students of ethnicity in North America.

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UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS IN AMERICA: A HISTORY. By *Bohdan P. Procko.* Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1982. 184 pp. $25.00 cloth, $10.50 paper.

THE UKRAINIAN GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CANADA, 1918–1951. By *Paul Yuzyk.* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981. 210 pp.

If these two books can be said to have a common underlying theme, apart from the obvious one of religion among Ukrainian immigrants, it is the role of the Roman Catholic church in the development of both the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. The ignorance of the Roman Catholic clergy in Canada and in the United States about the legitimate rites and traditions of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church, together with the insensitivity of the Latin-rite hierarchy generally towards national and religious customs, proved both disruptive and destructive. Disruptive to the Ukrainian Catholic immigrants because they were forced to relinquish certain rights and privileges of their church, such as a married clergy, and destructive because many other Ukrainians, angered and frustrated by the treatment they received, either left the church or, as Dr. Yuzyk tells us in his book, formed the Ukrainian Orthodox church.

Dr. Procko's work describes the history and development of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church in America and, to a much lesser extent, the contemporary concerns of this church and its laity. Generally speaking, the book is a rather folksy chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic church, without any critical historical analysis. Its introduction is weak and confusing. A surprising omission at the outset is any discussion of the inception of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic church in 1596 at the Union of Brest, which would explain the nature of this church and its relationship not only to Ukrainians but also to the Roman Catholic church. The author could have outlined the persecution of Ukrainian Catholics by Polish Roman Catholics who regarded the Ukrainians' church as second-rate—exactly the same sentiment echoed later by the Latin-rite hierarchy in North America. That this sentiment still persists today is reiterated, if somewhat vaguely, in Procko's conclusion: "Further progress will have to be made, particularly in that intangible area of unqualified acceptance by the

overwhelmingly more numerous and influential Latin rite" (p. 113).

At the expense of clear explanation and bold analysis, Dr. Procko has assumed the role of moderator in the past and present trials of the Ukrainian Catholic church. If one task of a moderator is to temper opposing sides by overlapping their positions or underplaying their differences, his discussion of the "Patriarchal problem," a recent disruption in the Ukrainian Catholic church, is a coup. To someone completely unfamiliar with the issue, his presentation of the situation is, at times, so confusing and convoluted as to render it almost incomprehensible. For example, on page 95, we read:

> Since 1971, the conflict over the patriarchal system seems to have intensified. In the tension between the Ukrainian Catholics and the Vatican, some accuse the Roman Curia of neglecting the rights and welfare of the Ukrainian Catholics for the sake of its own diplomatic interests. . . . Needless to say, among the Ukrainian Catholics there is strong opposition to having Cardinal Slipyi as Patriarch. In the minds of many, the admixture of church and fatherland poses a major problem. The friction among the American Ukrainian Catholics, therefore, is not really one between those for and those opposed to the patriarchal system. To paraphrase the closing statement of a perceptive author writing in December 1970 about the unfortunately divisive character of the patriarchal movement: without a doubt, all of us are pulling for the patriarchate, except we're not pulling the same rope.

Finally, it is rather disconcerting to find, in an academic work, distinctions which betray a bias. For example, whereas Catholics are referred to as doing "missionary" work among early Ukrainian immigrants (e.g., pp. 3, 4), Orthodox are described as engaging in "propaganda" (e.g., pp. 14, 15).

It is to Dr. Yuzyk that readers should turn if they seek a brief yet adequate survey and discussion of the early history of the Orthodox and Catholic churches in Ukraine and among early Ukrainian immigrants in North America. Yuzyk's work confirms that many early Ukrainian Catholic settlers perceived Latinization as threatening their church and the Catholic church hierarchy as not trying to prevent this from happening. The main focus of his book, however, is the conflict which many of the young Ukrainian Canadian intelligentsia came into with members of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic hierarchy, led by Bishop Budka, over issues of national aspirations and concerns.

Dr. Yuzyk does not analyze all of the detailed and extensive evidence he presents, but it is obvious that the primary source of conflict between the Ukrainian Greek Catholics and their bishop lay in where emphasis should be placed on things "Ukrainian" and on things "Catholic." That the bishop and his colleagues took an interest in matters Ukrainian goes without saying; that these matters took second place to things Catholic was the major cause of friction. The clash over the establishment of Ukrainian student residences (see chapter 3) provides an example of the nature of these disagreements. Those who founded the residences intended for

them to be cultural and educational centers for all Ukrainians, regardless of religious affiliation. Bishop Budka, on the other hand, demanded that the overall tone be identifiably Greek Catholic before he would give his blessing to the project.

Both books address subjects that for the most part have been relegated to the realm of anniversary pamphlets and booklets. Not only have such publications generally failed to convey what these churches represent, but they have also provided fuel for detractors who would dismiss these churches as quirks in ecclesiastical history, characterized by the activities of xenophobic, nationalist fanatics who indulge in rewriting church teachings to suit their misguided desires. The appearance of Dr. Procko's and Dr. Yuzyk's books is an encouraging sign, and provides groundwork for further examination and analysis in this neglected field of research.

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MOI SPOSTEREZHENNIA IZ ZAKARPATTIA. By *Iuliian Khymynets'.* New York: Karpats'kyi soiuz, 1984. 187 pp.

In 1923, the third edition of a small pamphlet appeared in Vienna under the title *Iak pysaty memuary* ("How to write memoirs"). Written by Ivan Krevets'kyi and Osyp Nazaruk, it was intended as a practical guide to help Ukrainian émigrés record the story of contemporary Ukrainian developments, especially the post–World War I revolutionary events that many newcomers to Western Europe had just experienced. Considering the large number of post–World War II émigrés who in recent decades are adding substantially to Ukrainian memoir literature, it might indeed be useful to reprint the above guide in the hope that the historical value of future publications might be enhanced beyond the level of individual and often disjointed recollections and impressions.

The volume by Iuliian Khymynets' under review here neither follows any of the useful suggestions in the Krevets'kyi-Nazaruk guide, nor does it add anything new to the already existing memoir literature on post-1918 Subcarpathian Rus' (Transcarpathia)—a literature represented by the local authors Gregory Zsatkovich (1921), Iulii Rusak-Hadzhega (1938), Avhustyn Shtefan (1973–81), Julius Marina (1977), and Stefan Klochurak (1978), and by the non-natives who lived or observed events in the region: Michael Winch (1939), Volodymyr Birchak (1940), Lev Bezruchko (1951), Eleanor Perényi (1964), and Antin Kushchyns'kyi (1978). Instead, Khymynets' tries to retell the interwar history of Subcarpathian Rus' through his experience as a Galician Ukrainian who sought and was given refuge in Czechoslovakia after the Polish annexation of his own homeland in 1919. Yet the same Czechoslovakia that gave Khymynets' a

safe haven and helped so many other Ukrainian émigrés—even funding some important Ukrainian cultural organizations in the capital of Prague—is described by him as a state that occupied Transcarpathia and ruled it "by terror" (p. 35). The use, or misuse, of data from the writings of others seems to be the only avenue available for Khymynets', because although he lived in the region's second largest city, Mukachevo, where he ostensibly coordinated the activity of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, he in fact led a rather uneventful life. For instance, because he did not witness the declaration of Carpatho-Ukrainian independence on 15 March 1939, or the Hungarian occupation during the following days, he describes these events by citing at length the excellent collection of eyewitness accounts found in *Karpats'ka Ukraina v borot'bi* (1939).

In effect, it does not seem important to the author whether he actually witnessed the events he is describing or whether, indeed, he knew exactly what happened. In a remarkably candid admission, Dr. Khymynets' describes his methodological principles, which reflect the manner in which he composed a dissertation just after the war at the University of Innsbruck: "Someone might question me and ask how I can write about that of which I know nothing. I respond that if each person feels and concentrates on a problem to the degree that is necessary, then one can intuitively obtain that which the problem requires" (pp. 145–46). One wishes that Dr. Khymynets' had at least made his "intuitive history" enjoyable reading.

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NAD TYKHYM SERETOM: SPOHADY I OPOVIDANNIA. By *Michael Stupka.* Astoria, New York: 1983. 419 pp.

At first glance this volume appears to be a haphazard collection of memoirs, stories, facts, and photographs. Four authors are identified in its table of contents, and one, Mykhailo Stupka, acknowledges to having arranged the materials of Iakiv Kosivs'kyi. On that same page the "editors" (*redaktsiia*) comment that "in view of the regional and documentary character of these memoirs, [the editorial office] has retained in some places the colorful language of the original." There is no way for the reader to tell what editorial changes have been made, or where. Nor are the editors themselves identified. The title page bears the identification "UKRAPRESS," under which the name Dr. Iwan Owechko appears; he would seem to be the volume's main editor.

This is a book of sources, some of them primary, that can be useful for historians, ethnographers, and students of politics, sociology, and anthropology. Much of the book has the character of oral history, with its charm

and its drawbacks, and a sense of history does prevail. The unifying thread is that all its material is presented from the point of view of the residents of the small village of Chernyshiv, one of a cluster of villages within ten miles of Ternopil'. Many of these villages predate the Tatar invasions and all are rich in Cossack history.

Given here are accounts of village folk practices and descriptions of the peasants' daily life (including the comment that even in the latter half of the nineteenth century they farmed little, relying on fish and game for food); memoirs of the period immediately preceding the First World War and the Liberation struggle; and recollections of the life of young people in the 1930s and early 1940s (by Stupka). Included are matter-of-fact accounts of the destruction and disintegration of churches, archeological finds, and rare manuscripts and documents, including those dealing with the Polish insurrection of 1863.

In his brief introduction Stupka recalls his childhood musings about the village past, the old monastery, the legends of the monks and the Tatars, and the Cossacks. Both he and Kosivs'kyi give names and sometimes ages of those who served in the military, as well as of some people killed or deported by the Soviets; membership lists of some community organizations are also included. Kosivs'kyi recounts a number of episodes on the Ukrainian Galician Army, but these do not shed much new light on the period. Stupka offers a dispassionate account of his own participation in amateur theater, the Sokil gymnastic association, and, more significantly, in the lower ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He describes the recruitment of youths into the OUN, even the oath-taking ceremony in the woods before the "spirit of Ukraine." His rationale for joining is not discussed, but is evident from the detailed, literally blow-by-blow account of the youngsters' treatment by the local Polish police as late as August 1939. There is also a brief tale of how the "spirits of the eternal elemental force"—i.e., the Ukrainian nationalists—dealt with those who collaborated with the Soviets.

These materials should have undergone critical editing and preparation prior to publication. The authors wrote about events and experiences that they knew intimately, so they did not feel it necessary to explain certain code words, or to present a broader context for the events in Chernyshiv. Nor did they suggest if the developments there—for instance, the popularity of the Sokil and the fact that it supplied most of the local recruits for the OUN—were typical of other villages.

Notes, an introduction, and critical selection would have made this a more valuable work. As it stands, this volume poses problems for cataloguers and prospective readers, however sympathetic they may be to it. We can only hope that Ukrainians will not only continue to write memoirs,

but also submit them to careful editing. Otherwise, too little will be understood of the valiant lives these memoirs chronicle.

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MEMOIRS. By *Petro G. Grigorenko.* New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1982. 462 pp., illus. $19.95.

Save for the ending, Petro Grigorenko's life story is the quintessential Soviet Horatio Alger story. From his backwoods origin in the Ukrainian village of Borysivka, Grigorenko worked his way up to a position of power and influence in the Soviet capital, Moscow. Studious, industrious, and impeccably honest, the young Ukrainian peasant wholeheartedly devoted himself to the Communist cause, became a skillful Red Army general, and capped his career with a teaching appointment at the prestigious Frunze Military Academy.

His rise from rags to riches, although phenomenally rapid, was not atypical for what Sovietologist Jerry Hough has called the "Brezhnev generation." This generation of young Communists who came of age in the 1920s served as Stalin's shock troops in building "socialism in one country" and benefited from the enormous opportunities for advancement that this massive transformation offered. Most important, they were young enough to survive the Great Terror of the 1930s, but just old enough to be first in line for promotions into the positions vacated. It was this generation that won the war against Hitler, supervised the postwar economic recovery, and directed the subsequent military build-up. It ran and, indeed, still largely runs the country.

Grigorenko, however, never came to enjoy the pleasures of membership in Brezhnev's gerontocracy. In the early 1960s, sensing that the Soviet leadership had strayed from the "true" Leninist path, he "dropped out," or, more precisely, *was* dropped out. By the mid-1960s, he had become a dissident. From that time until his departure for the United States in 1977, Petro Grigorenko figured centrally in the Russian, Crimean Tatar, and Ukrainian dissident movements, and especially in the Moscow and Kiev Helsinki groups.

Grigorenko has termed these memoirs his "confession," with good reason. For the greater part of his career he was a fanatical, unquestioning Stalinist—"not a protestor, a critic of the system, or a member of the opposition, but a man who was dedicated to and loved his work, who devoted to it all his energy and time. Without hesitation I accepted everything that was said about Stalin, about the party, about the country, as truth. I spoke as a passionately convinced propagandist. Nothing could

disturb me." Not even his work as supervisor of an engineers' batallion involved in "blasting operations"—a euphemism for the destruction of churches—caused him any concern. Grigorenko's description of the demolition in 1934 of the magnificent Vitebsk Cathedral is chilling in its straightforwardness:

> The preparation of the Vitebsk demolition took a month and a half. The actual demolition surpassed all expectations. There was no explosion in the common sense of the term, just the roar and crackling of falling bricks. The building next door did not suffer even a single broken pane of glass. The church merely shook, let out a long groan, and settled into a pile of bricks. The demolition took place at dawn. I stood at the enormous pile of bricks and, I freely confess, admired my handiwork: You could have tossed the bricks from that pile straight into a truck for use in a new building project. The Vitebsk city soviet was impressed and paid everyone who worked on the job a bonus for "the excellent quality of the explosion."

To his credit Grigorenko realizes that this act was "one of the most flagrant instances of barbarism of our age." But he is also painfully aware that his support of Stalin in general made him an accomplice to Stalinism and its crimes. His honesty is exemplary; it stands in sharp contrast to the self-serving attempts of Western intellectuals to excuse their lack of outrage at Stalin's murderous reign.

How, then, did Grigorenko the Stalinist become Grigorenko the dissident? Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress in 1956 had only a minimal effect. "I was horrified and revolted," Grigorenko describes his reaction, "but my party indoctrination was so strong, and the traditions of Stalinism so rooted in me, that though I did not argue against the evaluation of events, for a long time I continued to affirm that the Central Committee did not have the right to make its accusations public."

Significantly, Khrushchev's revelations prodded Grigorenko into questioning not the Soviet system, but the bearer of ill tidings—Khrushchev himself. By the late 1950s, Grigorenko's "attitude toward the action of the leaders became increasingly critical. It was more and more difficult for me not to react to the illegalities and pompous trivialities of the rulers of my country. When we went through the second post-war currency reform (devaluation), I protested. Stalin's devaluation, which was openly extortionate, had not aroused a protest in me, but I had changed."

In reality, at that point the Soviet system had changed more than Grigorenko. The aura of omnipotence and omniscience of Stalin's time had vanished with Stalin; his successors could not compare with the dictator. For Stalinists suffering from a creeping identity crisis, Khrushchev's decidedly un-Stalinist behavior produced a classic case of "cognitive dissonance"—reality simply did not conform to ideology.

To be sure, this was not the first time in his career that Grigorenko had experienced outrage. Honest to the point of bluntness, he had consistently expressed his dissatisfaction, in good Communist fashion, with what he regarded as shortcomings of the Soviet system. His criticisms,

however, never extended to the system itself, but were confined to the level of authority he himself occupied. But once Grigorenko came to hold an influential position within the Soviet elite, it became only natural for him to notice shortcomings in the elite, as well.

The result was a terrible dilemma for the general. Remaining silent would have been contrary to his nature. Speaking out against the system, on the other hand, "would ruin my entire way of life, one which suited me perfectly." Ironically, it was a dilemma he had been spared in the 1930s, when he dropped his work in the Ukrainian Komsomol and transferred to the Military Technical Academy in Leningrad. Had he stayed in the Ukraine to witness Stalin's devastation of its peasantry and intelligentsia, Grigorenko's honesty might well have cost him his life.

Grigorenko resolved his dilemma in 1961. At a party conference in Moscow, he called for the ideological and moral renewal of the party—an act which cost him his job at the military academy. He then turned to Lenin for Communist guidance, not unreasonably concluded that the Soviet leaders were "monsters," and, in a fit of naiveté, founded an underground "revolutionary organization"—the Alliance for Struggle for the Rebirth of Leninism. This, of course, was going too far. The authorities responded by incarcerating him in the Serbsky Institute, the USSR's leading psychiatric prison hospital. Grigorenko's break with the system was now complete. The Stalinist had become a dissident.

Dissent led Grigorenko to reject Communism in its totality, renew his religious beliefs, and rediscover his nationality. For readers of recent dissident writings, the second half of Grigorenko's memoirs is likely to be familiar terrain. Grigorenko the Stalinist general is more fascinating, perhaps because less familiar, than Grigorenko the dissident activist. Underlying both, however, is a man of enormous devotion, purposefulness, and honesty, who for many years sought and, fortunately, finally found redemption. His gain is also ours.

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DIE HIRTENKULTUR DER HUZULEN: EINE VOLKSKUNDLICHE STUDIE. By *Ivan Senkiv.* Marburg an der Lahn: Herder-Institut, 1981. xii, 186 pp., 64 plates.

This publication is the thirty-ninth volume of the *Marburger Ostforschungen.* The author of this monograph says a great deal about the Hutsuls, their pastoral culture, and about Ukrainians in general. He also leaves much on these topics unsaid. One reason for publishing this volume, according to Senkiv, is the lack of synoptic treatises of an

academic nature on the Hutsuls in German (with perhaps the exception of R. F. Kaindl's work published in 1894). The author's stated intent is to divide his publication into two parts (p. ix): one dealing with the life of the Hutsuls and providing a historical overview of their culture, and the second dedicated to their mountain pastoralism.

As the reader looks over the table of contents, this division is by no means clear. The 164 pages of text contain the following topics in 32 chapters, in some cases with subchapters: 1. Introduction, 2. The Ethnic Boundaries of the Hutsul Area and its Economic Structure, 3. Wallachian Pastoralism, 4. Carpathian Settlements (a) *Ius Valachorum*, (b) Ukrainian Mountain Dwellers, 5. The Free Principality of Moldavia and the Bukovina, 6. Under Austrian Rule (a) The Freeing of the Peasants, (b) the Great Radical Change in the Life and Thinking of the Hutsuls, (c) The Autonomy of the Galician Lands, (d) The Ukrainian National Renaissance, (e) The East Ukrainian Romantics, (f) Challenge to National Unity, (g) The West Ukrainian Romantics, (h) the Poet Ivan Franko, 7. Transhumant Mountain Pastoralism, 8. The Ukrainian Mountain Economy; the Pokuttja Village Society, 9. The Emergence of Hutsul Pastoralism, 10. The Hutsul Guerrilla, 11. House and Farmyard (a) Living Quarters, (b) Working Quarters and Fortified Court Yard, (c) The Security and Storage System of the Court Yard, 12. Aliments (a) Milk Vessels and Tools, (b) Milk Products, 13. Clothing and Dress, 14. Artifacts (a) Easter Eggs, (b) Embroidery, (c) Wood Carving, (d) Applied Art, (e) Brass Artifacts, (f) Ceramics, 15. Feast Days and Holydays, 16. Christmas, 17. Hutsul Dances, 18. The Struggle against the Devil and Evil Spirits, 19. The Ukrainian Devil, 20. The Devil's Domain, 21. Means of Defense against the Devil and Spirits, 22. Popular Beliefs and Superstitions about Witches, Folk Medicine, 23. Exorcism among the Hutsuls, 24. Ancestor Worship (a) Death and Burial, (b) The Coexistence of the Living and the Dead, 25. The Wooden Churches of the Hutsuls, 26. Cattle Raising, 27. Fence Construction and Hay Harvesting, 28. The Alpine Pastoralism of the Hutsuls, 29. Shepherd Huts and Mountain Shelters, 30. The Joint Drives of the Herd to the Mountain Pasture; The Lighting of the Mountain Fires, 31. Mountain Accounting and, 32. A Day of Life on the Mountains. In addition there are three appendices (containing two winter carols and an incantation), a bibliography, an annotated index of illustrations, an index of geographical names, sixty-four illustrations (some in color), and a map of the Hutsul region.

Since Senkiv would like to end his work with 1945 ("Die neue Entwicklung, die in der Westukraine nach 1945 einsetzte, gehört nicht mehr zum Thema dieser Studie"), the treatment in both parts of the text

is historical. The order of chapters seems somewhat odd. For example, 11. The House and Farmyard, 25. The Wooden Churches of the Hutsuls, 27. Fence Construction . . ., and 29. Shepherd Huts and Mountain Shelters seem to have in common wooden structures, yet they are presented separately. Some chapters follow a logical sequence (for instance those dealing with popular beliefs, i.e., 18–24), yet others seem to be inserts between larger sections (e.g., 25. The Hutsul Wooden Churches). If one were to compare the present volume with that of Kaindl, the latter's text would appear less ambitious yet better structured. Kaindl's book opens with a chapter on the child (an issue not discussed by Senkiv) and closes with one on death and the funeral ceremony, and it contains seventeen topics within 129 pages. Senkiv, on the other hand, has a greater number of topics, many of which are not well developed. The shortest of these, chapter seven, dealing with transhumance, is expounded in two pages (pp. 35–36).

To some extent, Senkiv's work impresses the reader as an *apologia* describing Ukrainians and specifically Hutsuls as people who may be poor but are honest, and whose pedigree is genuine. Yet this is not the impression the author wants to give. On the contrary, the preface states his wish to provide an objective picture and avoid the romanticizing that his non-Ukrainian predecessors had done:

> Über kaum einen Volksstamm der Ukrainer wurde so viel fabuliert wie über die Huzulen, weil sie auf die Forscher und Publizisten aus dem Ausland einen exotischen Reiz ausübten. Um die Huzulen und ihre Hirtenkultur richtig einordnen zu können, muss man schon genauere Kenntnisse ihrer Geschichte und ihrer Sprache haben, als sie westeuropäische Forscher gemeinhin haben können. Genau das brachte mich auf die Idee, eine möglichst objektive Studie über meine Landsleute zu schreiben. (p. ix)

Alas, it turned out otherwise, for a few pages later, passages of his introductory chapter read like a panegyric. The Hutsuls were genuine shepherds. Their pastoralism was distinctive. They kept their traditions much longer than any of their counterparts in the Carpathians. They loved their mountains more than others did and were the best conservationists. Besides that, they were brave fighters and passionate riders who wanted to propagate and champion a better world. Peace at any price was not their way of thinking. Their skills with weapons and battle readiness was acquired in hunting and in guerrilla warfare against feudals and foreign oppressors:

> Als echte Hirten lebten die Huzulen von Viehzucht und Viehprodukten. Die Almwirtschaft und die Wanderungen der Huzulen mit den Viehherden zwischen den Dauersiedlungen und den Hochweiden waren das prägende Merkmal ihrer Hirtenkultur. Die Hirten aller Karpatenvölker verband eine gemeinsame Kultur, die sich bei den Huzulen am längsten rein erhalten hat. Es bestand aber ein

grundsätzlicher Unterschied zwischen den anderen Hirten und den Huzulen in ihrer Einstellung zur Natur. Alle anderen Hirten des Karpaten-Gebirges bauten ihre Existenz auf der Rodung und Entwaldung der Berge auf, um mehr Land für Weiden and Äcker zu gewinnen. Die Huzulen dagegen liebten ihre Berge und rührten sie mit dem Pflug nicht an. Jahrhundertelang waren sie die einzigen Träger der Idee des reinen Gebirgshirtentums ohne Ackerbau. Sogar den Boden, der sich für die Landwirtschaft gut eignete, verwendeten sie für die Graswirtschaft. Das Hochgebirge und die Wälder waren ihr Lebenselement. Sie schonten die Wälder und verehrten sie wie Heiligtümer.

Erst in der Neuzeit, als man die verheerenden Folgen der radikalen Waldvernichtung in den Ostkarpaten zu spüren bekam und die Nachteile des Ackerbaus in den Bergen sah, wusste man diese ursprünglich religiös begründete Einstellung der Huzulen zur Natur und zum Gebirgshirtentum zu schätzen.

Als freie Hirten waren die Huzulen auch mutige Kämpfer und passionierte Reiter. Sie hielten sich für die Vertreter und Vorkämpfer einer besseren Welt. Sie verteidigten ihre Freiheit mit ihrem Leben. Der Friede um jeden Preis gehörte nicht zu ihrer Lebensnorm.

Den Umgang mit den Waffen, die sie über alles liebten, lernten sie durch die Jagd auf karpatische Bären, Wölfe und Hirsche. Auch der Kleinkrieg gegen die Feudalherren und die fremden Unterdrücker stärkte ihre Kampffähigkeit. (p. 1)

There are other parts of the text which a reader seeking information about pastoral culture may find somewhat surprising. These occur within chapter 6 "Under Austrian Rule," which includes sections on the Ukrainian renaissance, East Ukrainian romantics, and the challenge to national unity. So instead of facts about stock breeding, data are provided regarding Certelev, Maksymovyč, Sreznevskij, Metlyns'kyj, Kostomariv, P. Kuliš, and Ševčenko (pp. 26–29). This is the more surprising because the author had indicated he would apply a functional approach to his subject matter:

. . . Bei der Schilderung der einzelnen Bereiche der huzulischen Volkskultur versuchte ich, die funktionelle Betrachtungsweise anzuwenden, die in der Volkskunde üblich ist. Nach dieser Methode erforscht man die ethnischen Kulturgüter in Bezug auf ihre Funktion im Leben des Volkes. Bei der Beschreibung des Hauses stellt man das Wohnen, beim Volkslied das Singen und bei einer Tracht das Tragen in den Vordergrund. (p. ix)

If Ukrainians in general and Hutsuls in particular are still considered exotic, then the lay reader of this volume will benefit from an interesting text which says a little about a lot of things. The more initiated will find a fairly good bibliography facilitating further study into whatever should be of interest about the Hutsuls and their culture.

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WOODEN CHURCHES IN THE CARPATHIANS: THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF FLORIAN ZAPLETAL. Selected and Introduced by *Paul R. Magocsi.* Vienna: W. Braumueller, 1982. In German and English. 176 pp. $25.00.

This handsomely published photograph album documents an era in Ukrainian culture and history that has long been neglected. The modest wooden churches of the Carpathians represent an architectural tradition of great sobriety and intense religiosity. Today the majority have been destroyed, pilfered, or, at best, abused. Yet the photographs taken of them in the 1920s by the Czech journalist Florian Zapletal testify to the richness of a culture and a rite, and to a complex iconography. In assembling this album, Paul R. Magocsi, who holds the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, has not only brought to our attention the beauty of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches that spot the countryside of former Ukrainian lands, but, in doing so, has inadvertently focused attention on the need for more study of these edifices.

The church structures of Ukrainians in Galicia and Transcarpathia were typically wood-shingled, tri-partite, and domed or cupola-covered. The photographs in this album reveal how similar, and yet distinctive the architecture of each church was. It is generally agreed that the region has three styles of architecture—the Boiko, the Lemko, and the Hutsul. But Zapletal's photographs remind us not of the purity or particulars of these specific styles, but rather, of their creative aberrations and eclectic additions. Although the churches are recognizably part of a homogeneous architectural group, the peculiarities of each one's design bespeak an individual history, thereby raising the question of originality and influences.

Neither Zapletal nor Magocsi make any scholarly suggestions about the sources for this architectural variance and complexity of features. Zapletal's discussion of the Gothic steeples and Baroque silhouettes of the Ukrainian churches brings us no closer to discerning why the Lemko church should have acquired a tall western tower, or why the Boikos consistently produced structures in the most conservative style, or why churches built close to the Rumanian border (e.g., in Dibrova) had a tall spire in their center.

In arranging Zapletal's photographs for this volume Magocsi applied what he calls the "organic principle"—that is, he grouped the churches according to the valleys and rivers around which settlements emerged. But he describes the architecture of each geographic area summarily, without attempting to explain how the given architectural style came into being precisely there. Hence it quickly becomes apparent that neither Zapletal nor Magocsi undertook a fact-finding mission here. No attention is paid to the widespread appearance of these types of churches in other regions of the Ukraine. The uninitiated reader might assume that the wooden churches are endemic cnly to the areas designated on the map. In the

long run, Magocsi's arrangement falls short of its purpose, especially if the reader wants to know about the "basic means of economic and cultural communications" (p. 19) that had given rise to the construction of villages and churches in this territory.

The few hundred wooden churches that remain of the thousands that once dotted the Carpathian landscape testify to a cultural source—namely, Christianity founded during the period of Kievan Rus'—that distinguishes the region's inhabitants from their Roman Catholic neighbors. Regrettably, Magocsi breezes over the features of the Eastern rite that so influenced the construction of these churches. He does not misinform his readers, but his presentation does cloud and oversimplify the issues. His claim for the uniqueness of the "Rusyn" culture without the presentation of any evidence why these people should be regarded as different from Ukrainians in general is disconcerting. For instance, he describes the "Rusyns" (Ruthenians of Carpathia) as an "exotic" people (p. 7), and he depicts the quaintness of the region, of the native dress, of the lovely countryside, and of the churches with a disturbing subjectivity. In this approach the varied richness of Ukrainian culture is minimized.

Recently several publications on the wooden churches of the Carpathians have appeared. In a more objective stance on the regional architecture of the area, the English architectural historian David Buxton draws parallels between the architecture of the Galician and Carpathian regions and that of the Left-Bank Ukraine.[1] Buxton regards these territories as the homeland of a single people. Magocsi's book has merit in that its photographs allow for more comparative study of the wooden churches of the Ukraine, but in giving information on the churches themselves, Buxton and others are far more instructive. The Magocsi-Zapletal book adds little of scholarly merit to augment the pioneering research of M. Dragan, V. Sichyns'kyi, and V. Zalozets'kyi.[2] Zapletal's essay, originally published in 1923, has clearly been outdated by subsequent scholarship. For the researcher the most valuable part of the book is the history of the provenance of the photographs themselves. Zapletal photographed his objects with documentary and aesthetic intentions. The quality of his photographs is good, and there is no denying their historical worth. The 240 photographs reproduced represent 150 different sites. But the collection is only part of the corpus of Zapletal's photographs from which the ethnographer Mykola Mushynka selected those that appear here. Other new publications have recently enlarged the body of photographs of the wooden churches of

[1] David Buxton, *The Wooden Churches of Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, 1981).

[2] M. Dragan, *Ukrains'ki derev''iani tserkvy* (Lviv, 1927); V. Sičynskyj (Sichyns'kyi), *Dřevěné stavby v karpatské oblasti* (Prague, 1940); W. Zaloziecky (Zalozets'kyi), *Gotische und barocke Holzkirchen in den Karpathenlaendern* (Vienna, 1926).

the Carpathians.[3] Most of the churches in the album under review have already been discussed in the major collection issued by the Museum of Ukrainian Culture in Svidník in 1971.[4]

There is, in fact, little in this book that is new, aside from making the public aware of Zapletal and his photographs. The narrative reads easily and is unified successfully, while the bilingual text allows for a broader readership and perhaps more widespread appeal. It is a pity, then, that the book lacks a bibliography (if only select) of publications providing more data. As is, the reader of the album discovers little about church-building in Carpathia. Moreover, his understanding of the cultural and religious circumstances surrounding their construction may well have been muddled in the process. Hence, despite the attractiveness of this picture-book, the wooden churches of the Carpathians still beg for scholarly classification and systematic research.

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CRIMEAN TATARS. By *Alan W. Fisher.* Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1978. 264 pp. $14.95.

In 1944 the Crimean Tatars—men, women, and children—were deported from what was then the Crimean ASSR of the Russian SFSR. Ostensibly, the reason for their exile was that some had collaborated with the Germans. Yet even Communist officials, Red partisans, and army veterans decorated for their bravery in fighting those very same Germans were exiled. Of course, some Crimean Tatars *had* collaborated: the Germans found collaborators among virtually every occupied nation. The Crimean Tatars' record of collaboration was certainly no worse than that of other small nations, and in 1967 even the Soviet authorities officially rescinded the charges of 1944. In fact, the deportation probably had less to do with wartime collaboration than with Stalin's desire to remove Turkic peoples from areas near the Soviet-Turkish border.

In 1945 the Crimean ASSR was abolished and the territory became the Crimean oblast of the Russian SFSR. In 1954 it was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR, an unsolicited gift on the three-hundredth anniversary of the "reunification" of 1654. The Ukrainians, their numerical strength in their own republic diluted, were made unwilling accessories after the fact to the expulsion of a nation from its land. Many of the Ukrainians

[3] See, for example, P. I. Makushenko, *Narodnaia dereviannaia arkhitektura Zakarpat'ia (XVIII– nachala XX veka)* (Moscow, 1976).
[4] B. Kobachovychova-Pushkaryova and I. Pushkar, *Derev"iani tserkvy*, Naukovyi zbirnyk Muzeiu ukrains'koi kul'tury v Svydnyku, 5 (Prešov, 1971).

subsequently settled in the Crimea had only recently lost their own homes in an "exchange of population" with the Polish People's Republic: one displaced people was merely being used to replace another. Perhaps, as Professor Fisher himself suggests, the Soviet authorities calculated that those who had only recently lost their homes would fear losing them a second time, and thus constitute an exceptionally effective bulwark gainst the Tatars' return. On the other hand, very few Crimean Tatars have been allowed to return to their traditional homeland.

Fisher's book, the first of the Hoover Institution's projected series on the major non-Russian nationalities in the USSR, represents an auspicious beginning. The author, whose major work is on the Crimean Khanate and its annexation by the Russian Empire, is especially well qualified to dispute the Soviet-fostered stereotype, all too prevalent in Western scholarly literature, that the Crimean Tatars were little more than semi-savages, interested only in pillage and incapable of creating a national culture. Since the stereotype has been deliberately fostered by Soviet authors to justify the Tatars' banishment and the continued denial of their right to return home, Fisher's expertise on pre-annexation Crimean civilization is particularly welcome.

The Hoover series is designed to concentrate on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and for this period the author demonstrates an excellent command of the secondary literature in various languages. While a survey of this kind cannot contribute a great deal of original research, it plays a crucial role in popularizing established information among scholars who do not read Turkic languages (particularly in this case, since the Crimean Tatars have had three alphabets in this century) and presenting it in a readable, systematic form. It can only be hoped that future volumes in the series will equal the quality of this initial attempt, which is likely to remain the standard introduction to the subject for many years to come.

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Religion in Communist Lands

Vol. 11 No. 3
Winter 1983

Special feature on Ukraine

Published three times a year by Keston College. Annual subscription (1983): U.K., Europe and overseas surface mail £15; air mail: North Africa & Middle East £17; the Americas and Africa £18; Australasia £19. If payment if made in a currency other than sterling, please add £2.50 to cover bank charges. Write to: Keston College, Box HUS11/3, Heathfield Road, Keston, Kent BR2 6BA, England.